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THE NEW REPUBLIC

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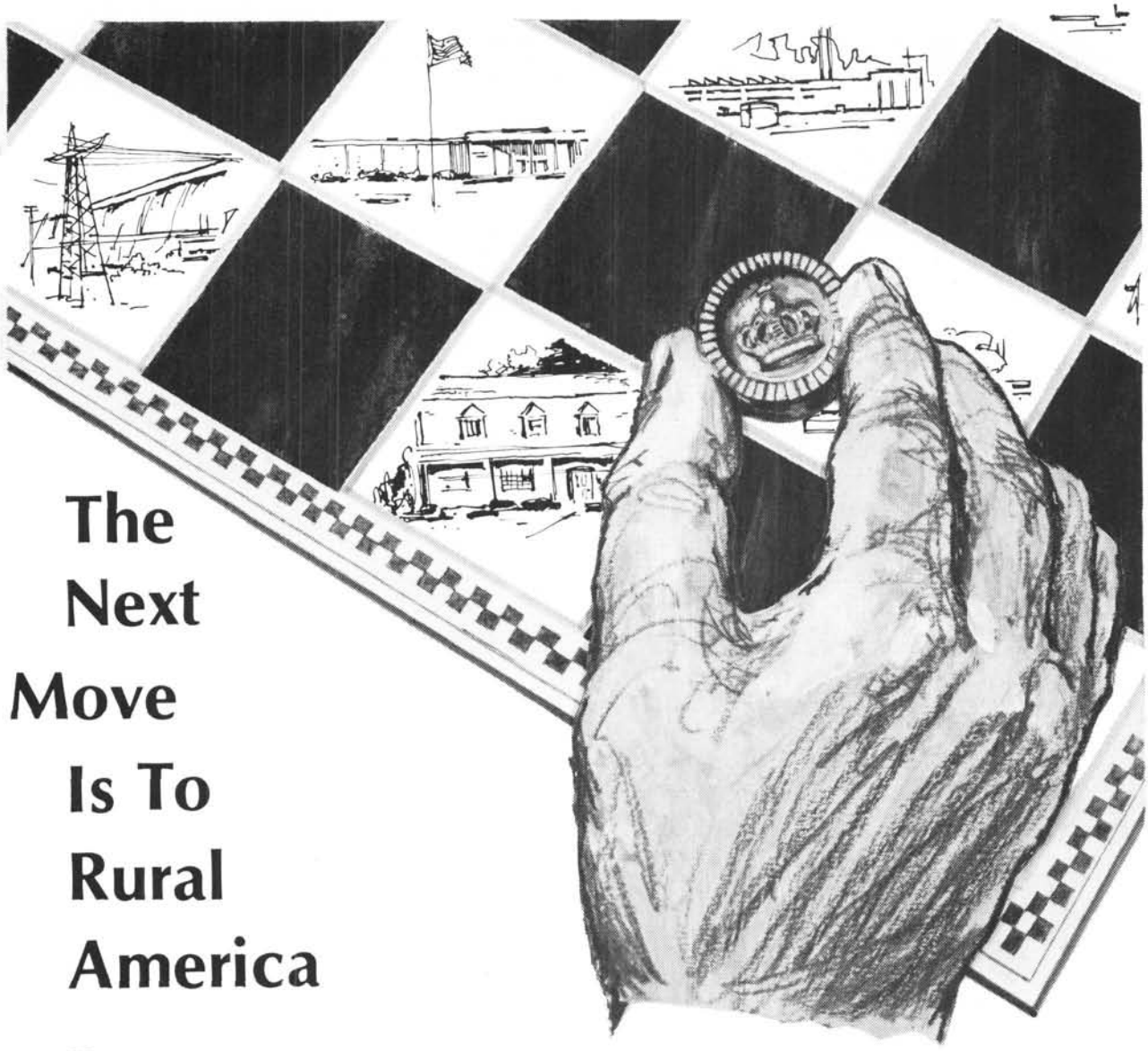

The Next Move Is To Rural America

Over the past few decades, millions of Americans deserted the countryside in search of a better life in the cities. Many found it, but for others the city ghettos offered no more hope than the life they left behind.

Now this migration is beginning to slow, and we think the next move will be in rural America—a move *to* rather than away from the countryside.

A big reason for this trend is the active leadership of America's rural power systems. These consumer-owned systems are committed to full development of rural America's vast potential. Already they are providing their areas with dependable, high-quality electric service—power vital to the growth of rural communities.

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By building new opportunities in rural America, we also help to ease the problems and tensions of our overcrowded urban communities. A better rural America will enable our nation to move closer to a true rural-urban balance—a balance we believe is essential to the future of city and country alike.

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Why did over ¾ million record collectors pay $5 to join Record Club of America

when other record or tape clubs would have accepted them free?

Compare the "Big 4" Record Clubs and see

	COLUMBIA Record Club (as advertised in TV GUIDE Mar. 30, 1968)	CAPITOL Record Club (as advertised in TV GUIDE Feb. 10, 1968)	RCA VICTOR Record Club (as advertised in THIS WEEK Feb. 25, 1968)	RECORD CLUB OF AMERICA
CAN YOU CHOOSE FROM ALL LABELS?	NO	NO	NO	YES! Choose any LP on any label! No exceptions! Over 300 different manufacturers including CAPITOL, COLUMBIA, RCA VICTOR, ANGEL, LONDON, etc
MUST YOU BUY A "MINIMUM" NUMBER OF RECORDS? HOW MANY?	12	10	5	NONE! No obligations! No yearly "quota"! Take as many, as few, or no records at all if you so decide!
HOW MUCH MUST YOU SPEND TO FULFILL YOUR LEGAL OBLIGATION?	$47.76 TO $59.72	$39.80 TO $49.80	$19.90 TO $24.90	ZERO DOLLARS You don't have to spend a penny – because you're not "legally obligated" to buy even a single record!
CAN YOU BUY ANY RECORD YOU WANT AT A DISCOUNT?	NO	NO	NO	ALWAYS! Your discount up to 79% OFF —GUARANTEED never less than a third! No exceptions.
DO YOU EVER RECEIVE UNORDERED RECORDS?	YES	YES	YES	NEVER! There are no cards which you must return. Only the records you want are sent — and only when you ask us to send them.
HOW LONG MUST YOU WAIT FOR SELECTIONS TO ARRIVE?	5 to 6 weeks	5 to 6 weeks	5 to 6 weeks	NO LONG WAITS! Your order processed same day received.
CAN YOU BUY ANY TAPE YOU WANT AT A DISCOUNT?	NO	NO	NO	YES! Substantial discounts on all available tapes at no extra membership fee.

ANNOUNCING... SPECIAL INTRODUCTORY HALF-PRICE MEMBERSHIP OFFER...

ONLY $2.50

MAIL COUPON BELOW TODAY!

DISCOUNTS TO 79% — PRICES AS LOW AS 99¢ PER RECORD!

TYPICAL ALL-LABEL "EXTRA DISCOUNT" SALE

BUDGET SERIES AT ½ PRICE..... $ .99
Frank Sinatra • Petula Clark • Nat Cole • Dean Martin
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John Gary and others...

BUDGET SERIES AT ½ PRICE..... $1.25
Oistrakh • Richter • Callas • Tebaldi • Casals • Krips
Boult • Dorati and others...

BEST SELLERS AT ½ PRICE..... $2.49
Herb Alpert • Simon & Garfunkel • Ramsey Lewis
Belafonte • Supremes • Mamas & Papas • Otis Redding
Eddie Arnold • Monkees, and others...

plus ... from 50¢ to as high as 79% discount on famous labels. RCA Victor, Capitol, Columbia, Decca, Liberty, Motown, Elektra, Vanguard, Warner Brothers, and others.

★ **Choose any LP on any label! Mono and Stereo! No exceptions!**

★ **No "quotas" to buy. Take 0 records—or 100!**

★ **SAVE! Discounts up to 79%! Prices as low as 99¢ per LP!**

★ **No "hold-back" on exciting new records!**

★ **All orders shipped same day received—no long waits!**

★ **Every record brand new, first quality, factory fresh — and guaranteed fully returnable!**

AT LAST A RECORD CLUB WITH NO "OBLIGATIONS"—ONLY BENEFITS!

This is the way YOU want it – a record club with no strings attached! Ordinary record clubs make you choose from just a few labels – usually their own! They make you buy up to 12 records a year—at full price—to fulfill your "obligation." And if you forget to return their monthly card – they send you a record you don't want and a bill for $5.00 or $6.00! In effect, you are charged almost double for your records.

BEWARE...

Of "imitation" all-label clubs. For example, RECORDS UNLIMITED is secretly owned by... Columbia Records! Their "master" catalog lists only 931 record albums (almost all —86% – are Columbia products!). Our Master Catalog lists over 15,000 LPs, of all labels! Discounts? We offer new LPs at 99¢—but they offer no LPs at 99¢. So beware of imitators. We are still the only major record club NOT OWNED OR CONTROLLED by any record manufacturer!

But Record Club of America Ends All That!

We're the largest ALL LABEL record club in the world. Choose any LP...on any label... including new releases. No exceptions! Tapes included (cartridge, cassettes, reel-to-reel, etc.) *without* the "extra" membership fee other clubs demand. Take as many, or as few, or no selections at all if you so decide. Discounts are GUARANTEED AS HIGH AS 79% OFF! You *never* pay full-price—and *never* pay $1 extra for stereo! You get best-sellers for as low as 99¢, plus a small handling and mailing charge.

How We Break All Record Club "Rules"?

We are the *only* major record club NOT OWNED...NOT CONTROLLED...NOT "SUBSIDIZED" by any record manufacturer anywhere. Therefore we are *never* obliged by "company policy" to push any one label, or honor the list price of any manufacturer. Nor are we prevented by distribution commitments, as are other major record clubs, from offering the very newest records. *Only Record Club of America offers records as low as 99¢.* (You can't expect "conventional" clubs to be interested in keeping record prices *down* – when they are manipulated by the very manufacturers who want to keep record prices *up!*)

Join Record Club of America now and take advantage of this special INTRODUCTORY HALF PRICE membership offer. Mail coupon with check or money order—NOT for regular $5.00 fee—but only HALF THAT PRICE ...just $2.50. You SAVE $2.50. This entitles you to LIFETIME MEMBERSHIP—and you never pay another club fee.

Look What You Get

- *Lifetime Membership Card* guarantees you brand new LP's at dealer cost. Discounts up to 79%.
- *Free Giant Master Catalog* lists available LP's of *all* labels! Over 15,000 listings!
- *Disc®*, the Club's FREE magazine, and special Club Sales Announcements which update the Master Catalog with *extra discount specials.*

Guaranteed Same-Day Service

Record Club's own computer system, ships order *same day received!* Every record brand new, fully guaranteed.

Money Back Guarantee

If you aren't absolutely delighted with our discounts (up to 79%) – return items within 10 days and membership fee will be refunded AT ONCE! Join nearly one million budget-wise record collectors now, mail coupon to: Record Club of America, Club Headquarters, York, Pa. 17405.

Your membership entitles you to buy or offer gift memberships to friends, relatives, neighbors for only $1.00 each with full privileges. You can split the total between you – The more gift members you get – the more you save! See coupon for your big savings.

FREE! World's largest Master Catalog of available LP's to choose from when you join Record Club of America

Lists over 15,000 available LP's on all labels! DISCOUNTS UP TO 79%! Classical—Popular—Jazz—Folk —Broadway & Hollywood sound tracks—Spoken Word —Rock & Roll—Comedy—Rhythm & Blues—Country & Western—Dancing—Listening—Mood! PRICES AS LOW AS 99¢. No exceptions! You **never** pay full price—ever! Also available—FREE—Master Tape Catalog. Substantial discounts on all available tapes (cartridge, cassette, reel-to-reel, etc.) at no extra membership fee.

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YES—rush me LIFETIME MEMBERSHIP CARD, FREE Giant Master Catalog, DISC®, and Special Sales Announcements at this limited SPECIAL INTRODUCTORY HALF-PRICE membership offer. I enclose—NOT the regular $5.00 membership fee—but only $2.50. (Never another club fee for the rest of my life.) This entitles me to buy any LPs at discounts up to 79%, plus a small handling and mailing charge. I am not obligated to buy any records—no yearly "quota." If not completely delighted, I may return items above within 10 days for immediate refund of membership fee.

☐ Also send_____Gift Membership(s) at $1.00 each to names on attached sheet. Alone I pay $2.50; if I join with one friend and split the total, cost is only $1.75 each; with two friends, $1.50 each; with three friends, $1.38 each; with four friends, only $1.30 each.

I ENCLOSE TOTAL OF $_____ covering one $2.50 Lifetime Membership plus any Gift Memberships at $1.00 each.

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P446. Kaethe Kollwitz: MOTHER AND CHILD. ON GENUINE ARTISTS' CANVAS—excellent reproduction of this heartwarming scene; the unutterable depths of a mother's love for her child—in black and white on canvas 22" high x 18" wide.
Special **2.98**

5027. Ladislas Farago: BURN AFTER READING. The deadly underground struggle between the Allied and enemy intelligence services during WW II; absorbing, documented stories of the Abwehr, MI5, OSS, Deuxieme Bureau, Admiral Canaris, Allen Dulles, more; by a former section Chief in the US Navy's Special Warfare Branch.
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4973. A THEATRE OF MACHINES. By A. G. Keller. Handsome anthology of plates taken from the earliest printed books of mechanical inventions; dating from 1570 to 1630, with period descriptions & contemporary background material; incl. an endless chain elevator, an amphibious armoured car, mobile-collapsible bridge, more. 52 plates; 7½" x 11¼".
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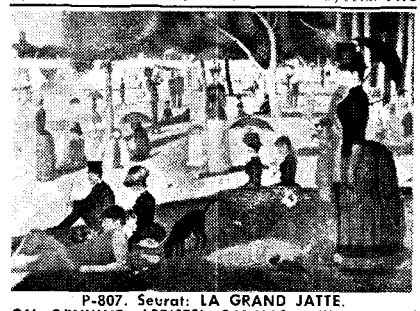

P-807. Seurat: LA GRAND JATTE. ON GENUINE ARTISTS' CANVAS—silkscreen of Seurat's most famous painting, a pointilliste river-park scene in subtle shades of green, blue, gold, red and mauve. 27" wide x 18" high.
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4963. 2000 YEARS OF LONDON: An Illustrated Survey. By M. Hanson. A full 2000 years of London history from Roman times to the present—*230* REMARKABLE PHOTOS, ENGRAVINGS, MAPS—lost architectural treasures, antiquities, public and private architecture, the city's many brilliant architects, London today. 8½" x 11½".
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5030. SPOILED PRIEST: The Autobiography of an ex-Priest. By Gabriel Longo. Candid, affecting account of a man called to the priesthood but not to the celibate state, of his 15 years preparation and parish work, of saintly visions turned sexual, and of the day he put aside collar to load vegetables in Washington Market. 12 photos. *Pub. at $5.95.* *Very Special* **1.00**

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Pub. at $6.00. *Very Special* **1.00**

4536. SOHO—NIGHT AND DAY. By Frank Norman (Fings Ain't Wot They Used T'Be) and J. Bernard. Delightful, informative introduction to London's famous Soho: its history, restaurants, coffee houses, shops, bums, prostitutes, pubs, strip clubs, tearaways, even Foyle's. 68 photos.
Pub. at $6.00. *Special* **1.98**

P-733. Picasso: BLUE NUDE. *ON GENUINE ARTISTS' CANVAS*—figure in strong black lines on a blue and gray background after Picasso; derives from his blue period. 16" wide x 20" high picture area.
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P-734. The above on heavy art stock.
Pub. at $7.50. *Special* **2.98**

3565. THE BOYS OF BOISE: Furor, Vice & Folly in an American City. By John Gerassi. The true story behind the headlines of Boisé's homosexual underworld scandal which involved scores of teen-agers, white collar workers, even reaching into capitol politics. *Orig. $5.95.* *Only* **1.98**

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4905. A COLLEGE BOOK OF MODERN FICTION. Ed. by Rideout & Robinson. Wonderful collection of 40 20th century American & British short stories and essays on modern fiction; incl. fiction by Katherine Porter, Faulkner, Hemingway, Malamud, Conrad, Lawrence, Graham Greene, Dylan Thomas, more. 690 pp. *Pub. at $7.50.* *Extra Special* **1.98**

4884. THE SMOKE SCREEN OF JUTLAND. By Cmdr. John Irving, RN. Thoroughly detailed account of the great WW I battle of Jutland in which the British Grand Fleet, though not having seen major action for over 100 years, forced the Germans out of the seas. 28 photos & diagrams. *Pub. at $7.95.* *Very Special* **1.98**

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6293. Sartre: BEING AND NOTHINGNESS. Trans. & intro. by Hazel E. Barnes. Jean-Paul Sartre's *magnum opus*, a *sine qua non* for understanding Existentialism and its importance as one of the leading philosophical movements of our time. Over 700 pp. *Orig. $10.00.* *Only* **2.98**

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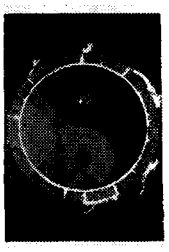
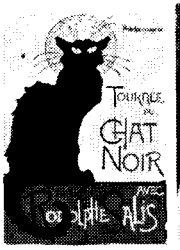


P-814. YANG YIN Yang Yin symbol super-imposed on a photo of the sun, showing a full corona with solar flares; in black and bronze; 18¾" x 26¼". *Special Import* **1.49**

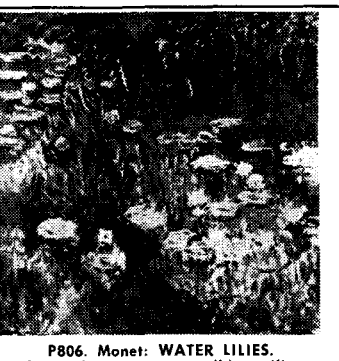
P-815. JOIN THE UNDERGROUND SPECIAL AIR FORCE. Delightful, off-beat recruiting poster for the U.S lighter-than-Air Force; wine red and greens; 22½" x 28½". *Special Import* **1.98**

P-816. Georges de Feure: LITHOGRAPHIES ORIGINALES. *Art nouveau* poster: dark greens contrast with black, chalk white, light greens & gold; 22" x 30¼". *Special Import* **1.98**



P-817. Steinlen: TOURNEE DU CHAT NOIR. Magnificent Theophile - Alexandre Steinlen poster in red & black on cream-yellow stock; 21¼" x 29¾". *Special Import* **1.98**

P-818. Mucha: SALON DES CENT. Superb *art nouveau* poster announcing the 1896 Paris Salon des Cent exhibition; flesh tones and muted greens with white; 20½" x 30¼". *Special Import* **1.98**



P806. Monet: WATER LILIES. **On genuine artists' canvas**—striking silkscreen of the French master's impression of water lilies in a swirling pool of greens, blues and purples. 21½" wide x 22" high. *Pub. at $20.00.* *Only* **6.95**

4656. SCANDINAVIA. By O. Siegner. Superb pictorial tour through the wonders and delights of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway: castles, cathedrals, monuments, historical sites, country and city architecture, ancient and modern. 214 photos; 8¼" x 10½". *Special Import* **2.98**

5010. THE LIFE OF JESUS. By Marcello Craveri. The only popularly written work of our century to provide the results of over 100 years in the search for the Jesus of 2000 years ago. Some reviewers have branded it as "libelous" and "blasphemous"—others have hailed it a precise, authoritative, and completely modern explication of the most mysterious and dramatic story of human history. 528 pp. *Pub. at $7.95.* *Special* **2.98**

4667. ROGET'S THESAURUS of Words and Phrases. Authorized, revised edition of the indispensable book for everyone who wants to find the right word at the right time. 700 pp., hardbound. *Special* **1.98**

4972. Edward VIII—ABDICATION. By Brian Inglis. The first full account of Edward VIII's agony and crisis—the full roles played by the King, Mrs. Simpson, Baldwin, Lloyd George & Churchill—a sad, dramatic, and tangled affair told brilliantly, drawing from every available source. 36 photos. *Pub. at $6.95.* *Extra Special* **1.00**

9931. KLEE. By Herbert Lynton. A fine representation of Paul Klee's vast talent—*50 paintings in full color plus 12 drawings and sketches*—all illustrating his vivid dancing colors and fairytale-like images; with an introduction and appreciative assessment of Klee's life and work. 62 illus., 50 in full color; 9¼" x 10¾". *Special* **1.98**

P-804. Picasso: TOREROS. Strong rendering from Picasso's Bull Ring series, in black and white on fine heavy stock. 20" wide x 24" high. *Extra Special* **2.98**

7738. Frank Lloyd Wright: ARCHITECTURE, Man in Possession of his Earth. A rare object lesson in design by the master architect himself—a history of architectural materials with a Wright design or construction as the contemporary culmination of each material—stone, brick, wood, glass, steel and concrete — with a biography by Iovanna Lloyd Wright. Over 225 illus. in color and monochrome. 9½" x 12½". *Orig. $10.00.* *Only* **4.95**

5407. THE ANNOTATED MOTHER GOOSE. Intro. & Notes by Wm. S. & C. Baring-Gould. The complete text and illustrations in a fully annotated edition containing more than 1,000 separate rhymes—originals, variations, sources and allusions. *Over 200 illus.* by Caldecott, Rackham, et al. plus historical woodcuts. *Orig. $10.00.* *New complete edition* **3.95**

3621. THE CHURCH—A PICTORIAL HISTORY. By E. Rice. Handsomely illustrated pictorial history of the Roman Catholic Church, the great events and great men, and the daily lives of millions of the faithful from Byzantium to today. 247 PHOTOS, ART REPRODUCTIONS, PERIOD ENGRAVINGS & DRAWINGS; 8⅝" x 10½". *Special Import* **4.98**

5033. GUIDE TO ENGLISH LITERATURE. By F. W. Bateson. Reference work providing convenient access to everything the reader needs for disciplined study of English literature: bibliography, annotations and commentary, reinterpretations of principal literary periods in light of modern research, more. *Pub. at $5.00.* *Now Only* **1.98**

9381. ENCYCLOPEDIA OF RELIGION. Ed. by Vergilius Ferm. A comprehensive reference on every facet of religion, religious faith and practices, detailed in thousands of authoritative, readable articles by scholars—denominational views, schools of thought and practices, historical movements and figures, Protestantism, Catholicism, Judaism, Eastern religions, etc. 844 pp. *Orig. $10.00.* *Only* **2.98**

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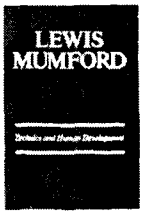

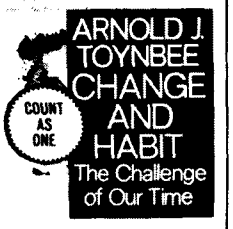

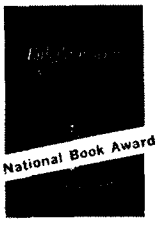

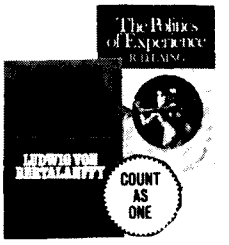

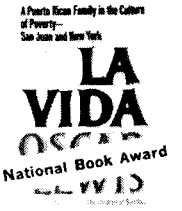

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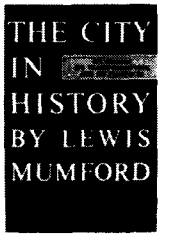

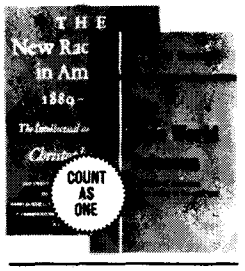

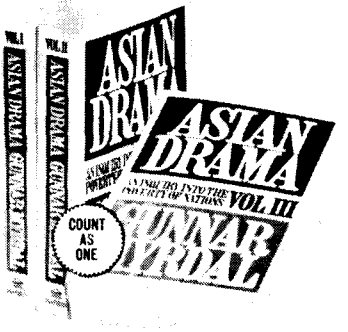

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T.R.B.

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Then and Now

★ Twenty-five years ago this summer Ken Crawford, who is the nicest fellow in Washington, asked us if we would fill in as TRB temporarily and we have done it ever since. Twenty-five years: it's a long time.

Maybe a backward look is in order. Some things we have written sound pretty silly in retrospect; a few stand up; we have been reasonably honest; have tried to give an idea of what was happening in Washington; and have never, so far as we can remember, been curbed by our editors (though we get an angry nudge from readers with nearly every issue).

Back in 1943 when our files start the US was at war and the story thereafter was pretty much how the pieces fell after the war ended – the coming of nuclear power, the collapse of colonial empires, the period of monolithic communism, the split between Russia and China, the increasing tension between Have and Have-not nations.

This column's interest has been primarily at home. We have had FDR, the tough little fox-terrier Harry Truman; the beatific general who gave the country a breathing spell and "sound" economics, which meant inflation, a rousing deficit and three recessions in eight years – a combination that really took ingenuity. (Yet, to do him justice, he only slowed the clock down; he didn't set it back.) After him, Jack Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson, and here we are now, with all our troubles and Vietnam.

As to Vietnam, it seems to us (trying to take the philosophic long-range view) that the calamity is being slowly unraveled. After the great Allied victory of the Tet offensive General Westmoreland said he needed 206,000 more men, and General Wheeler, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, was sent out to see him, Feb. 23-25. About the same time Chairman Fulbright finally got Dean Rusk on the witness stand (after trying vainly for two years), where two-thirds of the committee were critical. Mr. Johnson's poll-ranking simultaneously sank to a new low. Mr. Johnson, we must suppose, understood perfectly the significance of Westmoreland's request for reinforcements. As the general himself said later, victory "in the historic sense" was impossible without reinforcements. The goose was cooked.

On March 22, the handsome general was tactfully promoted upstairs and superseded. One of his decisions had been to hold Khe Sanh, which was declared to be vital, and where he got 6,000 troops surrounded by 20,000 Viet Cong. Well, after five months it isn't vital anymore and we have now climbed out of Khe Sanh, too; Westmoreland is removed; the 206,000 troops aren't sent; Mr. Johnson has removed himself, and Mr. Humphrey, with some more of that old tact, has assured the country that if elected he will let Secretary Rusk go, too, as he needs a well-deserved rest. Bombing of the north has stopped. When some graceful way is found we have little doubt all bombing will end. Relations with Moscow show some gain.

Now as to TRB, the rule that people get more conservative as they get older does not seem to apply. Or, to be honest, we feel just the way we think we always have, but the speed of things is so much quicker and the dangers so much greater that it makes us increasingly concerned. We do not start the 26th year with philosophic calm.

We find ourselves wondering, more and more, if our institutions are adequate for the greater problems. Canada's elections took two months, France's a matter of weeks; ours will take a year and a half. We have legislative hardening of the arteries. A modern nation needs a flexible tax system to balance the business cycle; we knew long ago a tax rise was needed and yet it took two years to get it. The Electoral College has needed an appendectomy for a century; will it kill us before we get it out? The promiscuous sale of firearms is desperately dangerous but Congress is as terrified of the National Rifle Association as it used to be of the Anti-Saloon League, and the Senate's rotten-borough filibuster system gives the gun-toting western states a veto.

It is the way things are stacked against the poor, and the incompetence of Congress, that irk us most. Sixty other nations have family allowances and we don't; our infant mortality rate is a disgrace; concentration of industrial control marches on; the airwaves hum with puerilities and the intellectual caliber of our conservative party gives us a Goldwater.

Congress has steadily lost power for 25 years. It is still stacked for the conservatives. You look to it often with despair. There is the filibuster, the seniority system and the absence of honest campaign financing.

Congress is stacked by its committee chairmanships to let rural members (often racist southerners) run the great urban nation. The lowest income city dweller without a car desperately needs subways; instead Congress finances huge freeways and superhighways for the car owners. Inflation needs cooling, so this is neatly arranged by a proposed mini-recession that will put 800,000 or so out of work: this cuts purchasing power, you see.

The Poor People's Crusade put it in a nutshell; racist Sen. James Eastland (D, Miss.) is paid $13,000 a month not to grow crops and a starving child on his plantation gets $9 a month in welfare. You can't justify it.

It is virtually a condition for getting on to the Senate's tax-writing Finance Committee that you have to support the 27½ percent oil depletion allowance loophole. Under it the 20 largest oil companies have a 6 or 7 percent tax rate compared to the wage-earner's 20 percent or more.

Under our system we have produced a submerged, urban underclass, apparently self-perpetuating, that is carrying on a kind of chronic guerrilla war with society. Yet the leading issue of the 1968 election threatens to be "law and order" under a program which would attack the moral sickness by witchcraft, and exorcisms against the Supreme Court. . . . So now for the next 25 years – 1993, here we come.

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Talking up Racism

At the convention of the all-black Congress of Racial Equality in Columbus, Ohio, militants talked up "a black nation-state" and some demanded that the 12 seaboard states from Maryland to Florida be emptied of whites and turned over to the black separatists. It made good copy. So did the shouts of CORE delegates ("the brother has come home!") which were heard when Whitney M. Young Jr. of the National Urban League led them to think that he and his hitherto rather genteel organization had embraced their conception of Black Power. The news that the races must go their separate ways has been picked up by white liberals too, and rebroadcast. W. H. Ferry, of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, announces that "racial integration in the United States is impossible," and that we had better start working instead toward a system "that will at once maintain democratic practice and institutions and provide for an ethnically separate minority community." Everywhere, from back-country Mississippi to the urban ghettos, black leaders are under irresistible pressures from their constituents to talk the language of black independence, if not of outright black separatism. The pressure on white liberals is something else; it is the pressure of guilt, of dread at being thought unsympathetic with the black man's anger. Much that is said, much that happens, seems to suggest that the Kerner Commission was right in its "basic conclusion" that "our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white – separate and unequal," and wrong in its assertion that "the movement apart can be reversed."

The danger in all this is that the sense gets lost in the sound; that the superficial and sometimes vituperative rhetoric of the racial dialogue – foreshortened and distorted in brief press accounts and 60-second television clips – will become accepted gospel; that the full emancipation of Negroes will be further delayed by the falling off of needed white support; and that a white majority, feeling threatened, will forget that black militance reflects real, neglected injustices.

When we tune out the static, however, what is being said by black leaders is not as strident or scary or irrational as is often made out. Consider the CORE convention. The majority rejected a demand for geographic separation. The solemn planning for "a black nation-state" came down, in the words of a *Washington Post* reporter's summation, to "an economic program to give black people control of businesses, stores, and income-producing units in their ghettos."

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Nothing wrong with that; quite the contrary, though it will be far more difficult for blacks to build their own economic institutions in this decade than it was for the Mormons to "do their thing" in the 19th century. Nor are black leaders themselves altogether clear what form black economic institutions might take. Roy Innis, a militant CORE leader and its prospective head, has been embarrassed by the similarities between his program and the "black capitalism" recently preached by none other than Richard Nixon.

In a press conference and speech, Whitney Young indulged in a good deal of talk about his and his people's disenchantment with white institutions and with traditional integrationist goals. However, the chief statement in his speech was not one of complaint but of positive assertion: "The Urban League believes strongly in that interpretation of Black Power that emphasizes self-determination, pride, self-respect, participation and control of one's destiny and community affairs." Like Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, who had preceded him as a CORE guest and speaker, Mr. Young rejected the separatist fantasy of geographical apartheid. He looked forward not to two exclusive communities coexisting in sullen suspicion, but toward an "open society" in which blacks would have a choice between life in their own communities, in a kind of voluntary segregation, and in white communities, and would have full opportunity to learn and work and rise in both communities. His "open society" raises large difficulties, practical and constitutional (in that it seemingly would deny to whites choices that it grants to blacks, reversing our historic processes of denial). But we are moving toward something of the sort, particularly in cities where blacks are or soon will be in the majority.

Finally, fundamentally, is integration truly "impossible," the "terribly dangerous illusion" Mr. Ferry says it is? The answer depends on what we mean by integration. If it means and requires total escape from white and black prejudices, of course it is an impossible illusion. Eliminate "total" from the equation, and the Ferry proposition becomes ridiculous. Integration is a fact and a widening fact – in schools, in the armed forces, on factory floors and in corporate and government offices, in housing, even in many white suburbs. Mandatory segregation, sanctified and enforced by law, is an evil, and it is an evil that is receding into the American past. To deny the meaning and the potential of that huge fact, to turn from integration as the proper goal of the American community because total integration is unattainable now and perhaps forever, is to surrender all that has been won and to succumb to the real illusion that we as a people, white and black, are irreconcilable and no longer need one another.

Subsidized Housing

In Cleveland the other day, the Vice President spoke again of his "Marshall Plan for America's Cities" and, despite the *ancien régime* flavor of that phrase, demonstrated that he, too, is a progressive on the urban question. His themes were the dominant motifs of urban analysis as practiced on the right side of the tracks: concern for the "quality of life," confidence in the efficacy of the "private sector" in social endeavors, and as an afterthought, the need for "getting people into the act."

By way of specific program (pending the conclusions of his newly-assembled urban task force), Humphrey proposes a National Urban Development Bank. The bank and its regional affiliates are conceived as a means of providing technical assistance and funding economic development in high-risk ghetto areas by private builders, black entrepreneurs, neighborhood corporations or whomever. Although the bank would be launched with an initial federal contribution as "seed money," it would sustain itself by floating federally-guaranteed securities in the private market. It is not self-evident that a federal guarantee would of itself make these securities so attractive to investors that the bank could operate in the realm of "billions," as Humphrey claims. It is also doubtful that the bank's loans and its criteria for making them, even with low interest rates, would benefit black local entities in anything like the same proportion as high-powered housing consortia from the outside.

Humphrey's national bank proposal bears a family resemblance to other devices designed to enroll big money in the service of social purpose. Nelson Rockefeller's Urban Development Corporation in New York is a sound embodiment of this idea, so sound that it is unlikely to finance anything but middle-income housing. The Johnson Administration's variation on the theme is its proposal for "National Housing Partnerships" in its omnibus Housing and Urban Development bill, now in its final legislative stages. This scheme involves the creation of a federally-chartered but privately funded corporation which would in turn form a limited partnership. The point of it all is to attract wealthy individual and corporate investors, who, as limited partners, could compute the accelerated depreciation resulting from this National Partnership's construction activities as a personal loss and therefore use it as a tax shelter for their other earnings.

The omnibus housing bill, Johnson's $5.4 billion last hurrah, anticipates various other programs, which Humphrey proposes in his urban prospectus. For example, the Administration has endorsed the "New Towns" concept – entire towns planned and built from

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the ground up, which offer at least the possibility of a functional and aesthetically pleasing environment, depending largely on the enlightenment of the developer. These towns are envisioned as a general alternative to urban sprawl and as conduits into the suburbs for minority groups trapped in the center city. The Administration's bill authorizes the HUD secretary to guarantee loans of up to $50 million as a means of helping private developers raise the eight-figure sums required to build on the New Town scale.

In Cleveland, Mr. Humphrey also pledged himself to carry on the coordinating requirements of Model Cities for "total plans" for transportation, housing, employment and the other urban elements, and to continue the trend toward regional planning. The usual political means of effecting this regional planning is the creation of "Councils of Government" which by their one-town, one-vote provisions lodge effective control of planning with the white suburbs. It is in this light that Humphrey's endorsements of democratic community organizations must be viewed. Although these local organizations are eligible for funding under various provisions of the housing bill, the actual grants are controlled by HUD and FHA bureaucracies which are more often than not hostile to local democracy.

One theory of slum re-building is that, although new housing will have marginal effects on the way of life of people in the ghetto, the resulting construction jobs will not only generate income but accelerate the desired assimilation of black people into the wider society. The Johnson-Humphrey approach to urban development under-plays the employment side of the housing-and-jobs solution to urban crisis. The new housing legislation does include requirements that residents be employed in new construction areas, but the building trades who control construction labor and apprentice programs have integrated on only a token scale in the early stages of the Model Cities program.

There has been a general tendency for elaborate interest-rate subsidy, private-sector schemes to pass over the heads of those people who are poorest. The home ownership provisions of the Administration's Housing Act, taken over from Sen. Charles Percy's proposal of last year, will benefit people with moderate incomes, but, they are also designed to reach people with incomes between $3000 and $4000. The $300 million appropriated for home ownership, together with another $300 million for interest-rate subsidies in rental housing, are the most imaginative and progressive features of a program which, for all its $5.4 billion, represents only the white men's early reconnaissance into the dark ghettos. The program is also the Johnson testament on the cities, which Hubert Humphrey, if nominated and elected president, will continue and extend in its main features.

Cry Babies?

The last time a Vice President ran for the Presidency, Richard Nixon in 1960, he entered primaries all over the country. He had no opposition (Nelson Rockefeller having thrown in the towel early) and breezed through on the first ballot. This year, the Vice President as candidate does have substantial opposition. His right to the succession has not been certified by the rank and file of Democratic voters. He has dodged the primaries, dodged debate with his challenger, dodged questions about some of the most crucial and controversial public issues. He seems to expect to be given a base on balls. Naturally, many anti-Administration Democrats are crying "foul." Why not? In every instance during the past six months where there has been a popular contest within the Democratic Party, the voters have emphatically rejected pro-Administration slates. These voters are not "cry babies" who had a fair chance and are mad because they fear the count will go against them. On the contrary, they are mad because they fear the game is rigged. Where they have lost, it has not been because of popular repudiation, but because the choice of delegates has been in the hands of a very small group of party workers in the states who are

"Just for the heck of it, Hubert, let's count 'em before they hatch."

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accountable only to themselves.

So what does the Vice President do? He proposes "open hearings on the Party's platform to be held in all sections of the country prior to the convention." Fine. But of far greater interest at the moment are the views of the candidates. What, for example, *does the Vice President* think about the Vietnam war and the terms for ending it? It is effrontery for him to use the Paris talks as an excuse for keeping mum. And does he favor (McCarthy does not) the deployment of an Anti-Ballistic Missile system. If so, why?

To the Ash Heap

A Republican member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Robert Taft Jr. of Ohio, said the other day that this is likely to be the foreign aid program's "Year of the Ash Heap." His committee is the only one of four concerned with foreign aid that has accorded it anything like the care it deserves. After thorough hearings, the committee recommended that the House authorize just under $2.4 billion of the $2.96 billion requested by the Administration for economic and military aid in the fiscal year which opened on July 1. Four of the 15 committee Republicans tried to cut the authorization another $400 million, but even they agreed with Taft that no program cut beyond that point "would be meaningful." The final appropriation is certain to be well below $2 billion, and some members of both the House and Senate are seriously prepared to withhold any authorization or appropriation at all.

Their reasoning typifies the indifference, stupidity and hostility from which foreign aid now suffers in both the House and Senate. Despite incontrovertible evidence to the contrary, they maintain that the aid program, particularly the economic part of it, could get along perfectly well for a year or so on the $5.4-billion accumulated, unexpended funds in the famous "pipeline." The fact is that all but $100 million of this amount is obligated to going projects and that, as the House committee report says, the disruption of these projects to free money for current purposes "would create chaos." It also would confront the next President and Congress with the job of retrieving foreign aid from the ashes or burying it permanently. Many of the representatives and senators who are ready to cut the program to death are obsessed with the notion that a reduction in new money would result in an equivalent reduction of fiscal 1969 expenditure. Because previously authorized and funded projects would be continued, this is an illusion. According to a calculation recently made by AID, but withheld from Congress in the belief that it would only compound the pipeline myth, expenditures in the fiscal year just begun would drop by less than $200 million if Congress didn't appropriate a penny of new aid money.

The Chief Justice

The senatorial brouhaha over the confirmation of Abe Fortas as Chief Justice is a tempest in a teacup. Presidents do not generally cease making judicial appointments because they are due to leave office in a half a year, even though while in office they sometimes unfortunately delay making them for as long as that. And a retirement or resignation effective upon the qualification of a successor creates a vacancy. The Senate can, therefore, vote to confirm a successor. It does so just about every week with respect to myriad offices.

Yet the manner of Chief Justice Warren's retirement, while it has no bearing on the propriety of the President's nomination of a successor, or on the Senate's function in voting confirmation, does leave a great deal to be desired. Executive officers serve under the direction and at the pleasure of the President. It is unobjectionable, and often right, that they should make their resignation effective at his pleasure – which is what making a resignation effective upon the qualification of a successor amounts to. But judicial officers are independent of the President. They retire under an act of Congress that gives them the absolute right to do so, and they communicate their retirement or resignation to the President only for his information.

It is perhaps a small, symbolic point only, but the symbols of judicial independence are not trivial; they are an important source of judicial power and effectiveness. The point, moreover, goes beyond the symbolic, as Chief Justice Warren himself ingenuously emphasized at his press conference on July 5. He was still in office, said the Chief Justice, and would return to preside in the fall if the Senate fails to confirm Abe Fortas, of whom he thinks well. That may not have been intended as a form of pressure, but it looked like it. The pressure was in any event implicit in the manner of Chief Justice Warren's retirement. Life tenure, specified in the Constitution and undoubtedly essential, is one thing; life tenure with a right to influence confirmation of a successor is rather another. Retirements which are effective on a date that is certain and irrevocable ensure that a replacement will be considered on his own merits, not as a choice between himself and his predecessor.

The practice of retiring or resigning, as Chief Justice Warren did, effective upon the qualification of a successor, is unprecedented in the Supreme Court. It seems to have grown up among lower federal judges. It has nothing to commend it.

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Taiwan in Transit

When Washington last year won its 17th annual battle to keep Red China out of the United Nations, the old boys of Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist Chinese regime gathered in the drab US embassy in Taipei for a champagne celebration. It may have been the last of such parties. The Republic of China's Vice President C. K. Yen glumly says: "We are preparing our strategy for the worst expectable."

Since the Vietnam war was enlarged, 15,000 US servicemen and dependents have moved on to Taiwan, most of them connected with a big air installation. This island has become the key airbase for KC-135 tankers that refuel mid-air US bombers on missions over North Vietnam. Millions of dollars have poured into Taiwan in maintenance contracts for our planes. Until the US balance of payments crisis forced a cutback, a sizable chunk of US aid for Vietnam was spent in Taiwan. Government-controlled prostitution has made it a favorite rest and recreation spot for American GI's on leave. More than 4,500 a month stream to Taiwan, many heading for Peitou, a sulphur-spring spa up the road from Taipei that has become the last word in Asia for lures of the flesh.

Nevertheless, a changing US policy is apparent. Washington is trying to develop Taiwan into a self-supporting country, and is moving to cut back military-oriented programs. (Economic aid to the island was phased out in 1965.) The balance of payments crisis offered a convenient excuse to slash the military assistance program by nearly half this year. The 700-man US military advisory group, cut in 1967 by 100, will soon be cut again, down to 550. There are plans to bring the advisory group, which has operated as an independent unit since the Korean War, under the Taiwan Defense Command.

Chiang Kai-shek has not missed the significance of this evolving policy. The generalissimo has carried on a small number of raids – greatly decreased from the 1950's – on the China coast, mainly for their propaganda effect in perpetuating the claim of legitimacy for his regime. But after the *Pueblo* incident last January, he completely stopped the harassing strikes. The *Pueblo* incident is said to have convinced Chiang that the US is resolute not to get pulled into a wider war, and that it is not going to go to war to try to save him from the consequences of any precipitate action he might take.

Meanwhile political reform lags. When Chii-ming Hwang, a Harvard graduate and native Taiwanese, returned to Taiwan to research his doctoral thesis at the University of Wisconsin, the secret police tossed him in jail for 10 months without a hearing, then sentenced him to five years in prison. His crime was belonging to the Formosa Affairs Study Group, an approved extracurricular organization at the University of Wisconsin. He was released only after the State Department and University officials protested. Several weeks ago, three more students – one at the University of Hawaii and two at the University of Japan – were arrested and extradited. Political arrests are increasing.

Chiang's aging mainlanders are outnumbered four to one, but they rule the 12 million native Taiwanese with an iron rod, that includes martial law. Of the ten ministries of government, only one, Interior, is held by a native and his post is largely ceremonial.

Taiwan is a young country, 45 percent of its population being under 15. Taiwan's expatriate college students hope to establish a free "Republic of Formosa." They believe that with a truly independent government – and the adoption of the old Dutch name for the island instead of the Chinese "Taiwan" – some accommodation could be reached with Red China.

Going After the Banks

Congressman Wright Patman, who has been gunning for big banks for years without bringing them down, wants the Justice Department to look into the trust activities of commercial banks. A subcommittee of the House Banking and Currency Committee which Patman heads, recently completed a lengthy report laying bare the extensive network of interlocking directorships between banks and the companies in which they hold stock. The study suggests that in some instances one bank holds major chunks of stock in different companies within the same industry. Patman thinks that is the way to kill competition. In a letter to Attorney General Ramsey Clark, Patman said: "To take an important example, the Morgan Guaranty Trust Co., the nation's largest bank trust operation with $16.8 billion in trust assets, holds 7.5 percent of the common stock of American Airlines and has a director interlock with this airline. At the same time Morgan holds 8.2 percent of the common stock of United Airlines and 7.4 percent of the common stock of Trans World Airlines. . . . No one can question that these major domestic air carriers are in direct competition and yet each has as its largest stockholder a single banking institution." (Morgan Guaranty claims it sold most of the stock, and initially bought in solely for "investment purposes.")

The study also shows that Morgan Guaranty held sizable blocks of stock in four competing cosmetic manufacturers and had interlocking directorships with two of the four. In addition, Morgan holds 11.9 percent of the common stock of Trane Co. and 16.5 percent of Carrier Corp.'s common stock. Both companies

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compete in making central air conditioning systems.

The Baltimore financial community is interlinked in intricate fashion. The Mercantile-Safe Deposit & Trust Co. of Baltimore owns sizable blocks of stock in two other banks, three large insurance companies and the Commercial Credit Corp., all of which companies are meant to be rivals.

The recent spate of bank mergers, together with rapid growth in pension funds, have combined to boost the role of the commercial bank's trust department. Of the $1 trillion in assets held by institutional investors, banks account for $607 billion, or 60 percent. And the trust departments alone account for $250 billion. More than one third of all the bank trust assets are in New York City.

Patman's staff looked into interlocking directorships by examining the ties between 49 big commercial banks and the 500 companies listed by *Fortune* as the largest industrial firms in the country. It turned out that the banks held a total of 768 interlocking directorships with 286 of *Fortune's* 500.

Not long ago the Justice Department announced that interlocking directorates involving 16 industrial companies had been eliminated. The Attorney General had proposed to challenge these interlocks as a violation of antitrust law. Patman hopes the Justice Department can be interested in going after the bank interlocks in the same manner. He would prohibit officers and directors of financial institutions from serving as officers or directors of other financial institutions, and would prohibit such persons from sitting on the board of a corporation where the financial institution holds more than 5 percent of the corporation's stock or manages an employee-benefit fund for it.

Patman also wants annual disclosure by bank trustees and pension funds of their stock holdings, as well as disclosure by bank trustees of proxy voting of stocks, and he would like to restrict bank trust departments from owning more than 10 percent of a corporation's stock in certain instances.

Patman's previous efforts to curb the banks have ended in failure. Where Patman sees a conflict of interest and impediment to competition, most businessmen see only the linking of hands in a community of interest. Patman's criticism sounds to them like an echo from an earlier time. For even as he goes after the banks, they steadily expand. They too want diversity. One tactic is for the bank management to establish a holding company to own the bank. The holding company then can begin to acquire subsidiaries, which go into supplementary financial services. These can include running insurance firms, personal finance companies, factoring, or owning and operating travel and insurance agencies.

Togetherness in the Air

Ten little airlines that do 58 percent of their business shuttling troops back and forth to Vietnam and on other errands for the government are trying to cash in on the commercial traffic and thus justify their independent existence. To do this they have gone into the "packaged tour" business, chartering their planes to travel agents who plan itineraries, book passengers and charge little more for it all than commercial airlines do for their cheapest round-trip air fare. The "inclusive" tour supposedly benefits the tourist (because it's cheaper), detracts little from the business of the giant airlines, and keeps the small, supplemental airlines in the black. But the courts have ruled, at least insofar as international flights are concerned, that the Civil Aeronautics Board may not have had authority to sanction the practice.

The little airlines (including Capital International Airways, Modern Air Transport, Overseas National, Purdue, Saturn, Southern, Standard, Trans International, Universal, and World) are asking Congress to amend the law slightly to clearly authorize the CAB to bless their commercial activities. They have the support of the chairman of the CAB, congressmen from Hawaii (to which a majority of the charter flights go) and Betty Furness among others. The arguments raised in behalf of the charter airlines are largely negative and ignore the central problem of the air industry from the consumer's point of view – competition.

CAB Chairman John H. Crooker told Congress that the services of the little airlines are so modest that he couldn't understand why anyone would oppose them. By law, the full tour price they charge must be no less than 110 percent of the lowest available individual travel fare offered by a scheduled carrier. The price must include all hotel accommodations and air and surface transportation. Each tour must be on a round-trip basis, last at least a week, and have at least three overnight stops at least 50 miles apart. Therefore, according to Crooker's defense, "the charter tour passenger would be subjected to the rigidities of the group itinerary, would have to be willing to travel and share facilities with strangers, and would have to agree to the necessary regimentation entailed in group travel. Moreover, the tour passenger would . . . be confined to predetermined departure and arrival times selected by the tour operator. Under these circumstances, inclusive tours could not be used as an inducement to substitute travel on them for point-to-point transportation offered by the scheduled carriers."

The "inclusive" tour may seem a horror to some, but it has its appeal for low-income, inexperienced travelers who are wary of going to faraway places ex-

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cept in packs, who enjoy eating together, sleeping together, and going on guided tours. The scheme would never have been devised in the first place save for the argument that it would not lose business for the established airlines with their exclusive, identical fares. Only six percent of Americans have ever been out of the country, by one estimate, and under half have ever been in the air. It was reasoned that this great untapped market might be interested in inclusive tours, thus giving the small airlines something to do when they are not carrying troops.

Federal law requires that the supplemental airlines have enough civilian business to sustain them in peacetime or when the government can't keep them in the air. To get military contracts the supplementals have to get 30 percent of their revenues from commercial sources. To have commercial revenues they have to be permitted to fly commercially. It was to avoid the complaints of the big airlines that they were given a niche in the packaged tour business.

What bothers the commercial airlines is the thought of competition. Those in international commerce who are members of the International Air Transport Association collude every so often in classy resorts to fix prices. The air traveler is thereby deprived of a real choice. He may like the steaks better on TWA or the jokes about Alitalia or the stewardesses on SAS. But the fares are all the same. Only a few airlines like Icelandic remain aloof from IATA and offer lower prices. And some countries, with national airlines that are IATA members, deny them permission to land. The industry similarly resents the puny incursions of the small supplemental airlines.

The quasi-monopoly in the airline industry is the best justification for giving the supplementals a share of the business. And while Congress is considering approving the packaged tour, it might think also about freeing the little fellows to engage in more domestic and international business, at lower fares.

Games People Play at Gas Stations

Rep. John Dingell's (D, Mich.) Small Business Subcommittee is holding hearings on gasoline games (Tigerino, Sunny Dollars, Win-a-Check, etc.), with the idea of busting up what amounts to a mini-racket in a maxi-market. The purposes of the hearing are not entirely clear, although they could lead to federal or state legislation banning the games or restrictive action by the Federal Trade Commission.

Most of the noise concerning the games comes from dealers' associations, for it is the dealer who pays for their promotion. A questionnaire distributed by the subcommittee to 20 major oil companies revealed that the 11 that replied had paid $18 million in fees to game companies, and a total of $24 million in prizes. But, they collected $32 million from dealers to offset this. The system is supposed to work so that a dealer buys a box of "Lucky Dollars," "Tigerino" cards or what have you, distributes them to customers, and gets most of his investment back from the gas company in reimbursement for prizes. That's the theory. In practice, it works otherwise. Lewis A. Haskell, President of the Virginia Gasoline Retailers Association, testified that he had opened a $12 box of Sun Oil Company's "Sunny Dollars" and found only $8 in winning tickets. Gordon L. Hicks, President of the Minnesota Petroleum Retailers Association, complained that out of a $275 investment he had only $31 in prizes. Hicks tried to recoup his losses by raising his price on oil. Other dealers have raised their gas price by as much as a penny a gallon.

The large oil companies do pay to advertise the games, though they've maneuvered the dealers into paying for the games themselves. This is costing the same 11 companies $44 million. (It's interesting that the major oil companies have spent twice as much on ads as on prizes.) This cost is met by raising the price on fuel oil. Rep. Silvio Conte (R, Mass.) said in a press conference last month, "A few weeks ago the price of fuel oil was raised 1/2¢ a gallon, when traditionally the price of distillate is decreased. . . . It seems to me extremely difficult for the oil companies to justify their increase in the cost of a necessity at a time when they are spending such vast sums on this type of highly questionable activity [games]," particularly since the oil depletion allowance enables them to pay an average of only 6 1/2 percent in taxes on their net income, as opposed to the normal 48 percent for other industries.

The gasoline market is a steadily growing but finite market. The sellers can't get people to buy more gas; they can only change where the customers buy it. Hence, a game is like a bomb, it's a great advantage until everyone has one. In the overview, only the game companies are making money.

Despite lavish promises the actual chance of winning in a game is dismally small. Kays Gary, a newspaperman in Charlotte, N.C., decided it would be a good idea to get all his readers to send in their game coupons (Dino Dollars, Super-Pro, etc.) so that he could match them up, or take off the ink, and give the money from the resulting winners to a proposed retarded children's nursery. After 6,300 chances Gary had a grand total of $21. Said Gary, "I am thoroughly convinced that we could make more for Holy Angels Nursery by poking through sidewalk grates with chewing gum

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on a stick, hoping to snag a quarter."

Humble Oil and Refining Company became worried about the publicity that Mr. Gary received and placed an ad in another Charlotte paper listing their "Charlotte area winners." Gary found that not only did the "Charlotte area" consist of a quarter of the state, but the only major winners in the area had all come from one station, indicating that the gas company had "fixed" the game to boost business in that area. Mrs. Mildred Trostle, Vice President of the Maryland Association of Petrol Dealers and a key witness in the House hearings, exhibited a letter from an Esso dealer Vincent J. Vigneri, stating that he had been given a winning ticket worth $111.11 "to be given to the customer of my choosing." Rex Wright, another Esso dealer from Baltimore testified that he had been given a Tigerino ticket worth $111.24 by George Berry, a Humble official. Carl A. Pescosolido Jr., President of the Valley Oil Company of Massachusetts, said that when he complained to Cities Service that his client stations were losing money on "Citgo-Money" in 1966 he was given a number of "seeded" boxes to distribute and the number of winners "nearly quadrupled."

Even when there is a winner, the oil companies are reluctant to pay up, according to testimony before Dingell's subcommittee. Thus, Barry Tumpson, a senior at Duquesne University Law School accumulated $20,000 worth of winning Esso "Heads or Tails," a deceased game where any card was a potential winner, by putting the cards in a slide projector and seeing through the silvered surface that hid the "heads" and the "tails." When he tried to sell his method to Marden-Kane (The Humble Oil and Refining Company), they first agreed to buy, then stalled, canceled the game, then refused to buy. Tumpson, sued for breach of oral contract and the full $20,000 but finally settled for the amount he had originally asked for. In the course of the proceedings, however, he put an ad in the paper inquiring about people who had sent what they supposed to be winning tickets into Humble for validation and had never heard another word.

In the last analysis the games aren't doing anyone any good, except the people who make the games. They erode the relationship between the dealer and his supplier, because the dealer loses money on the games but is forced by competition and company pressure to take them. They break down dealer-customer relationships, because the customer feels cheated by the low probability of winning, the lowering of service standards, and the rising prices. Even the oil companies lose because they cannot through promotion effect an increase in the overall volume of gasoline bought. Still, no one can quit the race because the other guy may not – just like Johnson and Kosygin.

David King

If Humphrey Wins, Who Governs?

In a year of surprises it is perhaps foolish to make predictions. The prediction herein is made out of conviction and puzzlement. What on earth happens if it comes true (as I believe it will)? Is there any way of preventing it from coming true?

The prediction is simply described: Hubert Humphrey will be elected President, and the people will elect a more conservative Congress than now, with Republican gains in both North and South.

An imaginary Mr. Kowolski of Illinois, Mrs. Deutscher of Wisconsin, Mr. Roberts of Alabama and Mrs. Jameson of Maryland provide the answer. Each enters the polling booth next November and casts his or her ballot for George Wallace for President and then casts his or her ballot for the local Republican candidate for Congress. Nixon loses the state and Republicans win seats in Congress.

These people will be expressing what George Gallup has accurately described as a swing to conservatism in the country. Some are just plain racist. Some are against "coddling the poor." Some are alarmed about crime. Some think, as George Wallace has put it, that both the traditional parties are rotten and hopeless. Some are against high spending. They amount at this moment, according to the polls, to 12-15 percent of the population – more in the South but plenty in the North. This is the present probable Wallace vote. It comes to millions of people.

In all logic – and in all probability – most of these people will vote Republican for congressman and, where it matters, for senator. They should. It is probable that local Republican candidates in most parts of the country will express and reflect their fears and beliefs. A swing of anything like 13 percent in the national vote for the House of Representatives will mean either a Republican House or, in any event, a House more conservative by far than the present evenly balanced one.

It is not, of course, the end of the world if we have a President of one party and a Congress controlled by the other. Not by definition, at least. The sun had a habit of coming up every morning from 1954 to 1960 when the benign Dwight Eisenhower had to deal with a Democratic Congress. But let us assume, as I believe, that Hubert Humphrey is a reformer at heart, regardless of hisses at the rallies. At no time in our modern history, if at all, have we been faced with the situation of a troubled country, a new and activist President and a standpat Congress effectively dominated by the opposite party. It would be and will be,

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if you'll pardon the expression, a new ball game.

Consider one very specific problem. The date is, say, November 15. The returns are in and the situation described above has happened: Humphrey elected President because he has won a majority of the electoral vote and the Republicans having gained, say, 25-35 seats in the House (31 is enough to give them control, but it is not clear that there would be a huge difference if they won 25 or 35).

President Johnson is required by law to draw up the next budget and economic report, but he would presumably want Mr. Humphrey to engage deeply in the process (we cannot know for certain, because this would be the first time since Coolidge-to-Hoover, in another era, that a President of the same party succeeded to the office after an election). The biggest decision would be whether to extend the present $10-billion tax surcharge past its legal expiration date of July 1, 1969.

Mr. Humphrey, or Mr. Johnson and Mr. Humphrey, may well conclude that the only way to go after the nation's social problems in a big way is to keep the surcharge on the books, at least for another year. But they look aghast at the composition of the new Congress, and particularly the House. Could an extension possibly pass? Especially when the reason was to spend more money at home?

Immediately there arises a dilemma, even before Humphrey takes office. Bad choice one is to propose a lot of spending and keep the tax and be defeated on the first major issue of the term of office. Bad choice two is to accept fate and let the tax expire and propose very little that is imaginative, in order to preserve something of an aura of good will between President and Congress. There is no good choice. This is only the most predictable, and perhaps striking, of the problems we are likely to face. Not we – Hubert Humphrey. All the discussion has been about Humphrey's Vietnam position. It may well be that whoever is nominated and/or elected, Vietnam will be solved, liquidated, or what have you. But the problem of a Humphrey Presidency with a conservative Congress *and country* would remain.

It would be not only a problem, but a recipe for danger. There would, no doubt, be bewilderment at first, but then the awareness that the nation's division was starkly revealed in the division between President and Congress could cause a lot of trouble. We could, in short, become ideological – a sure prescription for the end of tranquility.

Is there a way out? There is none that I can predict, but two possible ways that one can hope for.

The first is simply a Nixon victory, with a corresponding conservative swing in Congress. This might well be far better than Humphrey as President with the same conservative Congress. There would be a sort of bending over backward to do things, though within the conservative tradition.

The second, impossible if the hypothesis of a conservative swing in the country is correct, would be a genuine victory of the liberals. This could happen if Mr. Kowolski and Mrs. Jameson do as they have often or habitually done in the past – vote for the Democrat for Congress – even if they vote for Wallace for President. Dr. Gallup, no doubt rightly, says they think of themselves as Democrats.

But no one should have any illusions. If the country is swinging toward the right, the Congress will reflect it. And that will matter more, particularly in the domestic arena, than who is elected President. A third-party aberration may elect Hubert Humphrey against a national tide, and his and ours will be the agony if it does. EDWIN L. DALE, JR.

It's a Long Way to Chicago

Plenty of Challenges Are in the Making

On every side irritation over the encumbrances built into our political system is manifest – this time by a variety of anti-Administration efforts in the post-primary interlude before the Democratic national convention. Right now, the energies being released are channeled in five different directions.

The major effort is still concentrated behind the bid of Senator McCarthy for the Democratic nomination. But a significant groundswell of activity in behalf of a "fourth party" ticket in November has developed in the last 10 days, leading to formation of groups in at least a dozen states (Montana, Nevada, Idaho, Colorado, Arizona, Oklahoma, Delaware, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York, Massachusetts, Illinois) plus the District of Columbia.

A third, independent but related occurrence is the proliferation of credentials challenges shaping up for Chicago – by the "Loyal Democrats of Mississippi," an umbrella group for the Young Democrats, Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, NAACP and AFL-CIO; by the recently organized National Democratic Party of Alabama, which hopes to be recognized as the "regular" party by the Chicago convention and will run a full slate in the fall; and, possibly, by set-upon Indiana supporters of Senator McCarthy.

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The fourth, again related but still independent, is the activity of the "Coalition for an Open Convention," organized in Chicago late last month with 1,500 persons present to coordinate anti-Administration activities at the convention.

Finally, there is the attempt of Kennedy "loyalists" to maintain some position of their own.

Response to the "fourth party" plan could be the most significant indicator of the depth and breadth of disillusionment. Marc Raskin, who is directing this effort, finds the biggest plus in the fact that "people, including those in the center, are not gun shy about moving out for a fourth party." He calls the response "overwhelming." Since the "fourth party" campaign is in its infancy, many vital decisions (such as whether to test state laws which hamstring new parties' getting on the ballot) are still to be made. Thus far, the attention has been focused on key tests of the strength in states like Massachusetts, where 61,000-plus signatures must be accumulated by the end of the month; Maryland, where there is even less time to get 49,000; and Illinois, where only 25,000 are required but where there is a severe distribution problem (200 from each of 50 counties).

Raskin's major handicap is that many of those who would be the most effective builders of a fall-back fourth party are entrenched in the McCarthy organization. They can't do two things at once. Moreover, there is some concern lest a "fourth party" threat damage McCarthy's chances for the Democratic nomination. Raskin calls it "the only problem that exists."

The McCarthy managers have decided on a conventional line between now and August 26, concentrating on the traditional hunt for delegates (there will be no massive summer program). They will rely on their "open convention" strategy, which is already drawing a defensive response from the Humphrey group.

The credentials fight poses another problem. The "Loyal Democrats" of Mississippi include a strong McCarthy minority, considerable leftover "Kennedy" strength and some adherents of Vice President Hubert Humphrey. After the recent state convention of the Mississippi "regulars," there is a strong procedural case for the challengers but they need the votes of a lot of Humphrey delegates to make it stick in Chicago.

For Sen. McCarthy, a fight over who should be seated from Mississippi, bringing back painful memories of the MFDP compromise in 1964, could be one of the significant moments in Chicago.

The same is true of a credentials challenge by the National Democratic Party of Alabama. Chartered early this year, it plans to meet in convention July 20 to select a delegation (the Mississippi "loyalists" will be meeting about the same time) that will challenge that of the "regular" party, which has already selected 10 presidential electors favorable to ex-Gov. George Wallace. There is strong pro-McCarthy sentiment within the National Democratic Party of Alabama. Its leader, Dr. John Cashin, a Huntsville dentist, attended the meeting of the Coalition for an Open Convention, where he was able to line up considerable support for a convention challenge among McCarthy delegates from a number of states. He's off to a running start.

In Indiana, the Kennedy-McCarthy forces had a clear majority in three congressional districts but were unable to use it, because the chairman of the district conventions rammed through a hand-picked slate in about 20 seconds without allowing nominations from the floor. If the National Convention seats the pro-Humphrey delegates from these three districts, all south of Indianapolis, it will only increase the agitation for a "fourth party."

Although the McCarthy camp has decided on a conventional approach to pre-convention maneuvering, the Coalition for an Open Convention has other ideas. Its goal is to bring a million people to Chicago, a human tidal wave of opposition to the nomination of Humphrey or any other Johnson candidate. This maneuver does not have the blessing of the McCarthy activists, but, reply its advocates, something dramatic *has* to be done. Popular frustration, particularly among the youth, must have some political outlet.

The final element in this anti-Administration mix is the fractured Kennedy "bloc." A number of grass roots supporters of the late senator have moved into the McCarthy camp. In some states (conventions in New Mexico, Colorado and Washington), the Kennedy-McCarthy coalition has held together. But Raskin and his cohorts have been surprised at the response to a "fourth party" movement they have had from Kennedy people, particularly in states like New York. The real power of the Kennedy forces, at least at the national convention, is the bloc of some 300 to 400 delegates (California, South Dakota, District of Columbia and pockets elsewhere). If they coalesce behind a candidate – Sen. McCarthy or a darkhorse such as George McGovern – they could have real impact. Their votes on credentials and platform could be crucial.

The after-Chicago story is full of "ifs." The mood for a change is evident in every part of the country. (Raskin is finding several components to this: a generational gap in the outlook toward conventional politics, a new willingness of blacks and whites to talk as equals, a widespread feeling that we ought to just "get out" of Vietnam, some signs of reaction against "law and order" slogans). If, between now and Chicago, a fourth party effort can place independent electors on the ballot in several dozen states, including

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a number of "key" industrial states, there will be something to walk out to.

Vice President Humphrey's managers are acutely sensitive to what they may be up against. Chairman John Bailey, for example, now sees nothing wrong with Sen. McCarthy appearing on the convention floor and, as a delegate, debating the key platform and credentials issues – an unthinkable stand for an old "pro" under normal circumstances. He will certainly try to avoid setting the stage for a walkout. But whether the Humphrey managers can contain deep resentment among party professionals over challenges to their right to run things their way remains to be seen.

The convention could make a walkout almost impossible – "if," the McCarthy-Kennedy bloc, aided by some Humphrey delegates, win the key credentials fights, and "if," the convention adopts a platform plank on Vietnam that departs substantially from the administration's line; and "if" the spirit of an open convention prevails.

Right now, the only thing to do is to prepare for all eventualities. PAUL R. WIECK

The Do-Nothing Gun Law

by Robert Cooper Jacobs and Bruce Spiegelberg

What does the new gun law change? The gun control provisions of the omnibus crime bill and the supplementary gun bill requested by the President (which Congress had shelved but may now pass) will have their major effect only upon the mail order gun trade. The former will take retail sales of handguns from interstate commerce, and the latter would add long guns. Some of the gun traffic would be repressed, but almost anyone wanting a pistol could have one still, if he doesn't mind the slight inconvenience of doing his shopping locally. Gun dealers are secure in their use of the US mail and common carriers between states, and the business lost to the mail order firms will be gained by local gun shops.

Buying a Federal Firearms License remains an easy option for those piqued by legal limitations and ambitious for a private arsenal. In the language of a recent advertisement in a "gun mag," "PISTOLS $7.15, DERRINGERS $9.65, many others. Buy wholesale! Become dealer! American, European sources." The license fee is now somewhat higher, but will scarcely restrain a profitable enterprise or a desire for guns. Other than the fee, the requirements for licensing are nominal and if not more honored in the breach are treated very casually. In short, under federal law, just about everyone retains the opportunity to acquire as many lethal firearms as he wants.

The history of federal regulation of firearms begins with the Second Amendment to the Constitution, which says, "A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed." As early as 1876 the Supreme Court offered an interpretation of the Amendment which still defines its meaning. The right of individuals to keep and bear arms, the court held, "is not a right granted by the Constitution." The Second Amendment allows the states to equip militia; it forbids the federal government to deny a state its own militia. State governments are free to control firearms in any way; nor does the Second Amendment prevent the federal government from supervising individual possession of firearms. Quite simply, regardless of bumper stickers to the contrary, there is no constitutional guarantee that individuals may own or bear arms.

It was not until 1934, in response to gangsterism, and perhaps moved in part by the attempted assassination of President Roosevelt, that the first major federal gun control law, the National Firearms Act, appeared. The Act was designed to control the so-called "gangster weapons," machine guns, sawed-off shotguns and rifles, silencers, and some unusual concealable weapons. By specifically excluding ordinary handguns, rifles, and shotguns from the statutory definition of "firearm," the government surrendered the regulation of the vast majority of private weaponry to chance, and the control of a national problem to the caprice of state law and geography.

Based on the federal power to tax, the Act levies an excise of $200 on the manufacture or sale of a weapon covered by the law, bona fide manufacturers and law enforcement agencies exempted. The prospective machine gunner may still obtain, possess and operate his

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weapon if he is willing to pay the tax, which in today's currency is less prohibitive than ever. But even were the tax so great as to allow gangster weapons only to the wealthy, the law is easily subverted.

A classic example of the weakness of this law is the availability of the Thompson submachine gun, the famous tommy gun, a cultural relic now as venerable as the six-shooter. A new one may be had after taxes for under $400, but the easy way is to buy one masquerading as a "war trophy." The souvenir is supposedly deactivated, commonly by depositing a small weld in the barrel. It is no great matter to restore the weapon to what a collector might call its original condition. Should he be hopeless at machine gunsmithing, he may order a new barrel from any of a number of suppliers. The total cost in recent years of the trophy has been as little as $50. Children have received them in the mail. After all, a trophy is not a firearm. In sheer spite of the law, a sawed-off shotgun may be created with a hacksaw in a few minutes, thus confounding the government of the United States and the officers of the Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division of the Treasury Department, who are charged to enforce the National Firearms Act. In brief, the inadequacy of the law lies in its narrow focus upon a few specific weapons representing only a small fraction of privately owned firearms, and its emphasis on control by regulatory taxation at the time of acquisition.

Four years later the government fired another blank. The Federal Firearms Act of 1938 requires that all firearms manufacturers and dealers obtain licenses and prohibits sales to known felons and fugitives. It closes the mails to handguns except between licensees, and it prohibits the shipment of any firearms to a state in violation of that state's license laws. The chief effect of the Act was to send most mail order handgun purchasers to the Express office rather than the Post Office to receive their weapons. Most, not all. Those who felt that active bartering or the private sale of a weapon or two entitled them to dealer's or gunsmith's status, found the one dollar fee and a short application form no obstacle to becoming a federal licensee.

The importance of this 1938 Act to the new law is its development of an approach to gun control through the government's power to regulate interstate commerce. The notion that access to a commonplace firearm, the handgun, should be supervised is a small step forward, but the government does not look at the owners of guns, it looks only at the *buyers*. That look is only slightly more severe in the omnibus crime bill of 1968. Its provisions extend and tighten some of the licensing and shipping regulations of the old Act and add two major restrictions: it prohibits outright the mail order sale of handguns by closing all channels of interstate commerce to handguns other than between licensees, and it prohibits over-the-counter sales of handguns to out-of-staters, minors, felons, fugitives, and some others. The government begins to acknowledge the realities of private armament, and the bill contains valuable controls of destructive devices such as bazookas, bombs, rockets, and grenades.

Where are we now? Even though an amazing variety of state firearms laws supplement the federal controls, as a practical matter anyone may arm himself. The new firearms laws do not change the situation materially. Mail order sales are severely restricted, but in all but a few states one can walk into a sporting goods store and buy an unlimited quantity of rifles, shotguns and pistols. Natives of these few states are able to procure guns and ammunition in bordering states if they are willing to lie to the dealer and risk the slight chance of later apprehension at home. The "hunting states" which border urban industrial areas where guns are controlled, are not going to act to assist their neighbors. The Bostonian may drive to New Hampshire or Maine, the Chicagoan to Iowa, or the Californian, if California ever gets around to preventing handgun sales outright, to Arizona or Oregon. Texas need go no further than the corner drugstore.

In any event, these laws do not reach the heart of the problem. Purchase restrictions alone do nothing about the 50 million firearms already in private hands; restrictions on certain dubious uses of guns are of some help. But in the important instance of licensing the carrying of concealed weapons, the law cannot meet the central difficulty that a concealed weapon is not ordinarily revealed until used.

The laws assume that society's interest in freeing the legitimate purposes of gun ownership from any supervision outweighs its interest in peace and order. The assumption is peculiarly American and prevents us from solving the problem. Effective and adequate law must direct itself to the *possession* of firearms. It is the gun owner who must be licensed.

The comprehensive federal gun law which we don't have, would regulate possession by requiring the registration of all privately owned weapons. Unregistered weapons would, after a time, become contraband subject to seizure and their owners to fines. Registration requirements could be made to dovetail with currently developing restrictions on acquisition. Mail order purchase of *all* guns and ammunition should be prohibited, as well as purchase in a state other than the buyer's home state. Registration and a purchase waiting period added to acquisition controls would make it practical for federal authorities to deny legal purchase and possession of weapons to the wide range of irrespon-

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sible individuals, now covered only partially and by an unenforceable law. Felons, fugitives, minors, persons bent on evading state law, and the mentally incompetent would readily be excluded from legal firearms possession and greatly hindered from illegal possession.

Registration and a waiting period would be very helpful to the states. The waiting period would permit them to ensure that purchasers meet local requirements for gun ownership. Registration would offer police rapid identification of the owner of any weapon. The plain fact of a registration certificate would allow some simple and inexpensive safeguards to ensure that legitimate firearms users continue their activities unimpeded, perhaps improving the conduct of some gun sports, while making it increasingly difficult for dangerous or incompetent individuals to use or possess firearms. Hunters, for example, could enjoy a new security in knowing that a legally incompetent person armed with a modern semi-automatic rifle is not stalking them as well as the deer. Of all the plans thus far seriously considered in Congress, Senator Thomas Dodd's scheme comes closest to this kind of comprehensive regulatory measure. Expectations of its success are small. Congress will at most be content to add long guns to the ban on mail order and out-of-state sales on handguns which is in the omnibus crime bill.

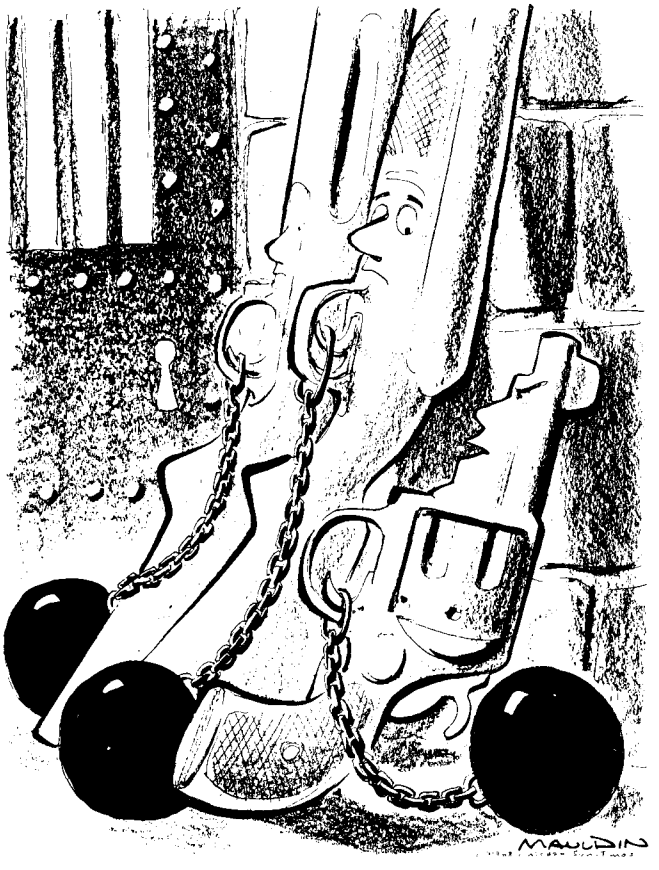
Hunting is chief among the interests of gun enthusiasts. It is little overstatement to say that in regard to deer, hunters are a necessary agent in the ecological balance of America. The natural enemies of the deer have been so decimated, and the herds become so populous, that were it not for the annual slaughter, or "harvest" as hunting jargon delicately has it, many states might be plagued by an infestation of large brown animals.

Though many hunters seeking challenge in their sport have turned to archery (a few use knives or spears), hunting usually involves rifles and shotguns, and, infrequently, pistols. The attraction of the military surplus rifle to the hunter is the promise that it can be reworked into a sporting rifle. It is true that older military rifles such as the German Mauser can be converted into suitable and inexpensive "sporters," but the modern semi-automatic military rifles widely available are inappropriate to hunting, illegal for use afield in many states, and cannot successfully be converted. They are designed to shoot people.

The handguns used for hunting tend to be small, light .22 caliber rimfire pistols or large revolvers whose power is as great as some rifles. A pistol or revolver is extremely difficult to shoot accurately, and very few handgun owners can afford the time or ammunition to develop passable marksmanship. Even relatively highly trained police officers are often more dangerous to bystanders than to criminals when a gun battle takes place. While there is no clear evidence on the point, there is reason to believe that handgun hunters are far more likely than rifle hunters to wound game and let it escape. Because handgun hunting has few devotees, a total ban on handguns might distress fewer hunters than the number who long to hunt with the crossbow, a traditional poacher's weapon which is outlawed for hunting in almost every state.

Many of our rural poor go hunting simply for food. It is also the recreation of the aristocrat, who continues to enjoy his sport in almost all of Europe and North America. But alone among the civilized nations of the world the United States permits unlimited private ownership of weapons. No firearms control legislation has even been seriously considered in America which approaches the regulation that the hunters of other nations accept in the interest of public safety.

Like hunting, target shooting has an international cachet. It is an Olympic activity embraced not only by the advanced industrial nations, whose teams are invariably developed and supported by the national military establishment, but by the underdeveloped nations, where it is a sport of the military and the wealthy.



"Now they'll have to go back to killing each other with rocks."

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It is no surprise that the great military powers, notably the US and the USSR, dominate the winner's circle in international competition.

The target shooter fires at artificial targets at ranges up to one thousand yards, the length of ten football fields. One major variety of marksmanship is "bench-rest" shooting, in which specialized rifles of fantastic accuracy are fired from fixed supports. But by far the most popular forms of American target shooting are trap and skeet, in which shotguns are fired at flying clay pigeons. In amateur target shooting as in hunting, pistols and revolvers have the least importance. Given the complexity of the arms and accouterment of the competitive target-shooter, requiring him to register his weapon seems no hardship compared to the difficulty of mounting exactly the right micrometer sights and measuring to the tenth of a grain the powder charge in his hand-loaded ammunition.

The most ubiquitous form of casual target shooting, the most puffed by arms manufacturers, and the most dangerous is "plinking." The plinker shoots at targets of opportunity. In a recent article, ".22 Plinkin' Pistols for Summer Fun," Captain William Askins writes:

"A visit to the local garbage dump is a joyous occasion for the multitude of bottles, cans and rats that offer themselves as targets. . . . No matter where the location, a plinking target is always on hand. . . . What better way to enliven that tiresome vacation trip than to take along a plinking pistol. No Sunday afternoon picnic is complete without a plinking session. . . . The most common target is the tin can, but more satisfying are bottles, because of the delightful way they break. I like a reaction when I hit a target. Rats, cockroaches, turtles, frogs and sparrows are on my plinking list too."

Ordinary rimfire weapons are favored for plinking because of the comparatively high cost of ammunition in the heavier calibers. More engineering research has gone into the .22 rimfire than any other cartridge or weapon; more varieties of weapons using these cartridges are available than any other type, and more .22 rimfire weapons are in private hands than any other single weapon. They are the butter and eggs of the domestic arms market. They sell like hotcakes.

The "twenty-two" is seen as so much a household appliance that Consumers Union reports on it. And so much a part of the domestic scene is it that advertisements play on a theme of father and son togetherness, a moment of familial intimacy achieved by the gift of a .22 to a child. Paradoxically, the .22 caliber rimfire rifle, this most available weapon, is specifically excluded from the serial numbering requirements that every other domestic weapon must meet, and its ammunition exempted from control by the 1938 Act. The nation has sad evidence of the capabilities of the .22. Senator Robert F. Kennedy was assassinated by a .22 rimfire revolver.

From childhood play at Cowboys and Indians and Cops and Robbers to adult entertainment by Western and Detective fiction, the American is steeped in the drama of violence, and the gun. In current advertisement of its revolvers, Colt Industries admonishes the patriotic consumer: "Isn't it time you had a better grip on American history?" Colt promises that its revolvers overcome loneliness. Colt revolvers talk; they speak of "Little Big Horn, Dodge City and Cripple Creek. Frontier Marshal and Wyatt Earp."

Probably most handgun owners would identify their weapons as primarily for self-defense. A "house gun" is usually a pistol and is frequently kept fully loaded in a bureau drawer at home or behind a counter in a shop. Police authorities are widely agreed that such pistols are more dangerous to the user and innocents around him than to an attacker or robber. The general danger is exacerbated when a handgun is carried on the person for defensive purposes. Criminologists assert that the wide availability of defensive guns is more likely to promote crime than deter it. (Neither the Dodd bill nor the universal registration would deny gun ownership for legitimate defensive purposes.)

The National Rifle Association of America, a private nonprofit corporation, widely viewed as the major lobby opposing gun controls, has for many years been the voice of the gun fancier in Washington. Although the NRA is the recognized agency for American participation in international firearms sports, although it is that private group most helpful to law enforcement and conservation authorities in teaching safe practices in weapons handling, in its opposition to gun control legislation it has served its supporters poorly. Instead of welcoming the opportunity to do away with some of the evils of our system, the NRA has decried any useful regulation. In the case of Carl Bakal's book, *The Right to Bear Arms*, the NRA demanded prepublication review of the text and advised the publisher of its readiness to sue for libel. The intemperate editorial style of its organ, *The American Rifleman*, may be seen in its characterization of Richard Harris' brilliant study of gun legislation as "one of the most rambling excursions into the fantasia of anti-gun thinking ever to creep, crawl or insinuate itself into print. . . ."

It may be unrealistic to hope that American violence can be substantially reduced by any gun control measures. The dark passions of a culture may overthrow its laws. Nevertheless, in the opinion of wise and experienced students of the problem, a responsible gun law along the lines proposed above *will* prevent many killings. It's time to act in our own defense.

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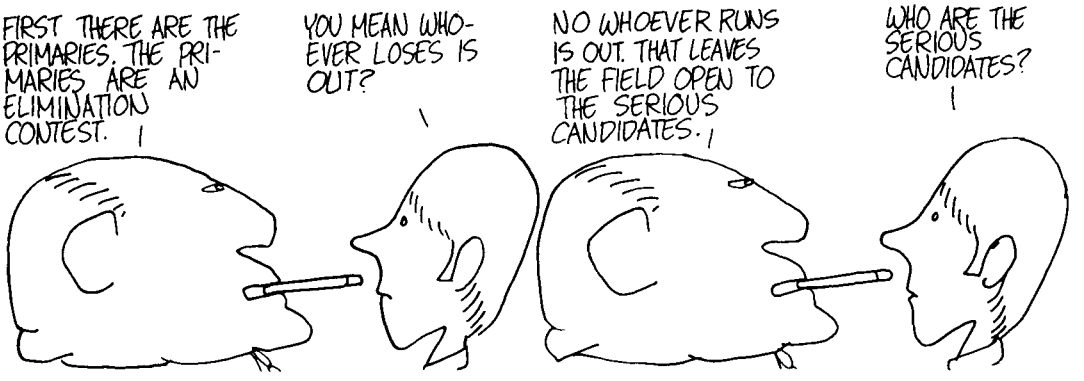
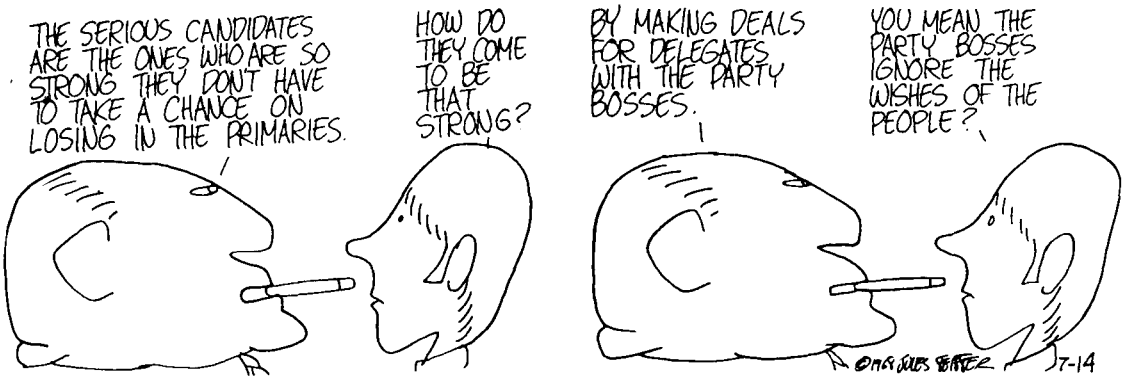
JULES FEIFFER


FIRST THERE ARE THE PRIMARIES. THE PRIMARIES ARE AN ELIMINATION CONTEST.
YOU MEAN WHOEVER LOSES IS OUT?
NO WHOEVER RUNS IS OUT. THAT LEAVES THE FIELD OPEN TO THE SERIOUS CANDIDATES.
WHO ARE THE SERIOUS CANDIDATES?


THE SERIOUS CANDIDATES ARE THE ONES WHO ARE SO STRONG THEY DON'T HAVE TO TAKE A CHANCE ON LOSING IN THE PRIMARIES.
HOW DO THEY COME TO BE THAT STRONG?
BY MAKING DEALS FOR DELEGATES WITH THE PARTY BOSSES.
YOU MEAN THE PARTY BOSSES IGNORE THE WISHES OF THE PEOPLE?
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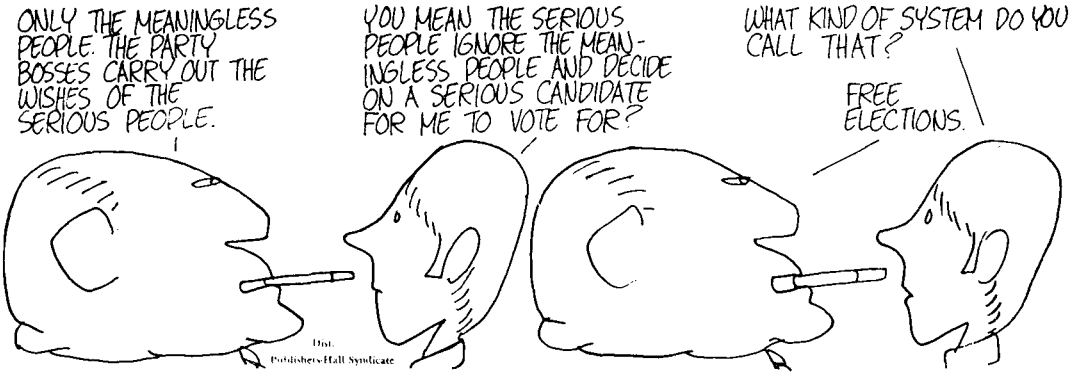
ONLY THE MEANINGLESS PEOPLE. THE PARTY BOSSES CARRY OUT THE WISHES OF THE SERIOUS PEOPLE.
YOU MEAN THE SERIOUS PEOPLE IGNORE THE MEANINGLESS PEOPLE AND DECIDE ON A SERIOUS CANDIDATE FOR ME TO VOTE FOR?
WHAT KIND OF SYSTEM DO YOU CALL THAT?
FREE ELECTIONS.
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Books and the Arts

Wisdom and Unwisdom

by Michael Harrington

This has been a disastrous year for writers and periodicals with long lead-times. Last winter, I wrote an article for *Commentary* which endorsed Eugene McCarthy. Between submission and appearance of the piece, McCarthy achieved his victory in New Hampshire, Robert Kennedy entered the race, Johnson announced he would not run, peace negotiations became a distinct possibility and I had decided to support Kennedy. Later, I wrote an answer to some critical letters for the magazine and, among other things, explained my change in candidates. Then Robert Kennedy was murdered and I was just able to add a postscript that I was once again in favor of McCarthy.

The French, by François Nourissier
translated by
Adrienne Foulke
(Knopf; $6.95)

But then the embarrassments and inconveniences which this incredible, tragic and hopeful year visited upon me were fairly minor compared to those suffered by François Nourissier. Between the completion of *The French* and its publication, Nourissier's subject matter went through a revolution (it is, as I write this, still in the midst of it).

It would be easy to demonstrate how obsolete the Gaullist insights in this study are. For Nourissier's point of departure is that:

> "The French have astonished themselves. They had no idea that as a people they could so narrowly skirt dismemberment and, after experiencing great instability, enter into a period of stability. . . . This generation now watches in amazement as twenty million young people under twenty propel the whole country toward psychological rejuvenation and a fresh historical outlook."

With students building barricades on the *Boul Mich* and workers seizing plants for the first time since June 1936, it is a simple matter to ridicule an analysis of France which starts from such a premise, and it would be a waste of time. For Nourissier's long-range assumptions about his country were obviously shared by the regime, the Communist Party, the Federation of the Left, the trade unions and most of the students. Therefore I propose to take *The French*, not as an object of intellectual fun, but as a typical, even if Gaullist, expression of the traditional wisdom before May 1968. And although it is clearly impossible to "explain" on the basis of second-hand reports from across the ocean, a national upheaval which is still in mid-explosion despite de Gaulle's latest electoral victory, it is of some value to approach Nourissier's book in order to find out why he, like everyone else in France, didn't notice the coming of a revolution.

For even in his optimistic premises, Nourissier did define a crucial element in the new situation to youth – even if he did not understand how dynamic it was to become. In Edgar Morin's thoughtful discussions of the tumult, in *Le Monde*, he emphasizes the fact that the most activist of the students, "*blousons noirs*" and workers were between 15 and 18 years of age. The struggle, Morin says, was a radical challenge to adult civilization itself, with a vision of a "permanent adolescence" joined to the Trotskyist theses on permanent revolution. Nourissier rightly understood that the demographic shift toward youthfulness was a major force in French society. But he wrongly took this transition as a portent of a happy Gaullist future and not as a precursor of revolution. Why? The answer is, I think, that Nourissier believes in the highly plausible, utterly undialectical proposition that bad times make people restless and good times render them content. In general, reality is exactly the other way round. In *The French*, there is a frank admission of student hostility to the regime; but this is seen as counterbalanced because "near Paris, university departments are being physically decentralized, with the double advantage of dispersing a turbulent community and giving it a little fresh air to breathe." Yet it was precisely in one of these new facilities at Nanterre that the movement was initiated by a small "*groupuscule*" and went on to shake up an entire nation.

When the students, in short, were given reforms by the paternalist regime, they interpreted that as a sign of "Kerenskyist" weakness and demanded a total restructuring of the educational system. At that point, the proletarian sympathies of the leadership gave a distinctive direction to this rising of the children of the bourgeoisie. For Nourissier, as for all the admirers of the charismatic general, the doctrinal disputes of the parties under the Third and Fourth Republics were "ideological debauches" and it was one of the accomplishments of the regime to have eliminated them. Moreover, *The French* argues that the workers had been successfully integrated into a society of mass consumption which, if it had serious unresolved problems, was satisfying more and more people. But the students, acting in the name of a libertarian Marxism, insisted on relating their movement to that of the workers and it was their partial success in effecting this unity which brought the masses into the streets and led the militants to seize the factories.

This student-worker front has been achieved at least once before in recent times – when the men of "Red Csepel" joined the youth of the Petoffi Circle in the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 – and its precondition is, of

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course, a widespread dissatisfaction in the factories. The response which did occur in France hardly means that the working class accepts the visionary program of the *enragés*. It almost certainly does not. But it does mean that the regime had favored investment as against consumption; and had, as the joke goes, intervened in the internal affairs of every nation in the world except its own. The result was that millions became conscious that they were indeed advancing their living standards and yet not really participating in the general progress at anything like a decent rate. It was probably this circumstance that permitted the students, in Morin's striking phrase, to "proletarianize the proletariat."

But here again, youth seems to have played a special role. The political differences between the leadership and the new generation of the labor movement have been noted in several countries, including the United States (it is one reason why the rank and file has repudiated contracts agreed to by its negotiating committee in America). In France, it seems that this factor was particularly explosive. The "psychological rejuvenation" which Nourissier predicted took place, but not in the moderate, Gaullist form he expected. And here I suspect there is another paradoxical relationship between ideology and militance.

The French communists, as George Lichtheim has pointed out with his usual brilliance, have more and more come to resemble the pre-World War I Social Democrat. The ceremonial rhetoric is revolutionary; the practice is reformist. This became particularly obvious in recent years as the communists edged out of their political ghetto and, by making an alliance with the Federation, began to think of themselves as a potential governmental party. In this context, ideology did not play the unsettling, irresponsible role which Nourissier assigns it. Rather it took on a profoundly conservative cast, giving a Leftist rationale for gradualism.

So it would now seem that the most militant action was taken by young workers outside the CGT and the other unions and, more often than not, in opposition to the established labor leadership. And it might be their lack of ideological commitment which permitted them to act in a more revolutionary fashion. I have for some time thought that one of the explanations for the vigorous, even violent, combativeness of the American working class is that it has eschewed long-range strategies and concentrated on immediate struggles.

It is obviously too early to pluck out any finished generalizations from this French experience of the last several months, yet I would like to pose at least one question which challenges some of my own basic assumptions. The traditional radical – and even academic sociological – wisdom holds that there is no such thing as a "youth class" and that young people must therefore be analyzed according to their different environments, occupations, aspirations and the like. Yet in the curious alliance of lycée students, collegians, *blousons noirs* and young workers, a generational solidarity may have transcended class lines. Whether or not this is the case one cannot know at this point. Yet the possibility is there and if such a transcendence of class did occur, it will require a rewriting of all the political textbooks.

I must end on a sympathetic note. If the revolution of May had not come, I would have found Nourissier's book plausible, if not profound. But it did take place and, through no fault of the author's, history has shattered many of his ideas. Now the main usefulness of *The French* is as a statement of the conventional wisdom which must be measured against events which it did not anticipate.

Cuba on Its Own

by David J. Morris

In 1959 most people in the United States were unprepared to accept Castro's rhetoric of a revolution that would touch human nature itself. Almost a decade later, the confidence of Americans in their own system is faltering; we may be ready now to look with more sympathetic, if not uncritical eyes, at the experiment 90 miles from our borders. Three recent books tell a before and after story of the Cuban Revolution. Ramon Eduardo Ruiz explicates the causes of the unique revolution of 1959:

> "Although no one can say precisely why a radical upheaval engulfed the island in 1959, Cuba's history contains the key to the probable causes. The shape and course of the Revolution were determined primarily by internal circumstances which were the products of a special society. Foreign events helped to transform the Revolution, but the transformation would have been impossible if the particular historical development of Cuban society had not encouraged it."

In the Fist of the Revolution: Life in a Cuban Country Town
by Jose Yglesias
(Pantheon; $5.95)
Cuba: The Making of a Revolution
by Ramon Eduardo Ruiz
(University of Massachusetts; $6.00)
The Economic Transformation of Cuba
by Edward Boorstein
(Monthly Review Press; $7.95)

This "historical development" includes the paternalistic but often oppressive Platt Amendment which ushered in decades of American economic dominance and its social correlatives, and made it certain that no matter who led the revolution, it would be anti-American in flavor. Ruiz does an excellent job of untangling the various strands of Cuban thought and history which led to the 1959 revolution. One of these strands was the philosophy of José Martí, whose ideas are traced extensively. He describes the splintered character of pre-revolutionary Cuban society: the fact that the army had no ties with any major segment of the population, the color problem, the urban-rural split in both income distribution and literacy, an impotent church and the traditionally strong but then decimated Communist

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Party. As Luis Aguilar wrote:

> "The absence of higher motives, of common beliefs, which unite and identify people as members of one and the same collectivity, and which discipline and join them together in common endeavor had created the crisis."

Yet while he more than adequately indicates how the revolution could have occurred in 1959, Ruiz doesn't explain why it did occur then. The same conditions were there in 1952, and would have been present in 1969. What were the roles in Castro's victory of *machismo* Cuban psychology and the myth of the guerrilla? What part did Herbert Matthew's columns in the *New York Times* play in stopping a possible military intervention by the United States? Why didn't a revolution take place similar to the one in Bolivia in 1952 or Guatemala in 1952-54? In other words, what made the 1959 revolution unique in time and character?

Ruiz's account of the abortive 1933 revolution gives some idea of what would have happened in Cuba in 1959 if the United States had had its way. At both times, properties of American companies were nationalized and the US intervened by cutting economic aid. Under-Secretary Welles, like Ambassador Earl T. Smith in 1959, was calling the revolutionaries communists before they were in office more than a few days. The difference was that US intervention (when you control more than 50 percent of a country's resources, cutting off aid and relations is tantamount to massive interference) was supported in 1933 by the Cuban moderates, since they desired only political reforms, not revolution. As Ruiz says of the 1933 event:

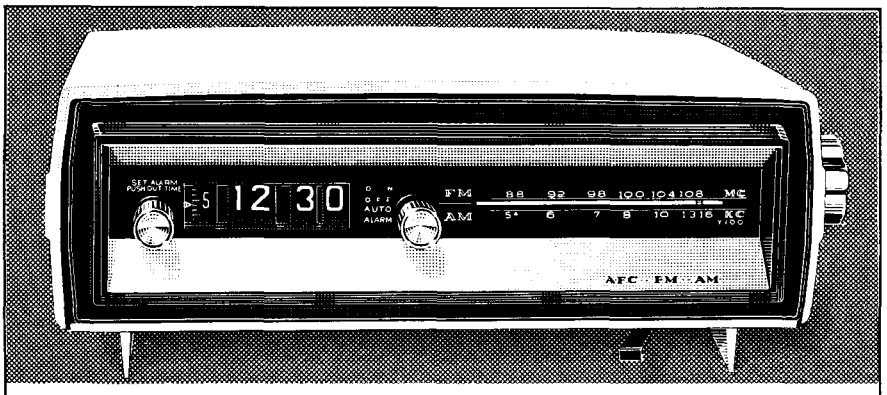
> "Frightened by the specter of a revolutionary rabble wielding political power, in particular the growing enthusiasm of the colored population for the reforms of the Grau regime, and distrustful of the ability of an inexperienced administration to control its more militant backers, moderate middle-sector Cubans . . . ultimately endorsed Welles' formulas."

After Grau's government fell, the United States mollified the remaining moderates by guaranteeing a Cuban sugar quota of 28 percent of the American market and preferential treatment for 35 products from the island. In return, besides putting a stop to social and economic reforms, Cuba gave preferential treatment to 400 American items, thus sharply limiting its possibilities for independent industrial development.

Castro's revolution, of course, was something altogether different. The United States put on the same pressures as it had in 1933, but Castro did not fall. Ten years have passed; *el proceso de la revolucion* has had a chance to integrate this splintered country, and for the first time Americans are willing to stop asking the question, "What went wrong in Cuba?" and begin to ask, "How are the Cubans getting along?"

Boorstein and Yglesias should be read together; they complement one another, one viewing the revolution from the top and the other examining the results in one Cuban town of decisions made in Havana. From 1960 to '63 Boorstein was an economist at the National Bank and in the Ministry of Foreign Commerce. Yglesias spent three months in 1967 in Mayari, a small Cuban town. Both write in anecdotal style, although Boorstein has significant analytical discussions of the inadequacy of much of the socialist and capitalist economic doctrine. Both are more impressed by the achievements of the revolution as expressed in joys and satisfaction it has brought to the people, than by its economic gains. They both recognize and criticize the shortcomings of the revolution without losing sympathy for it.

Boorstein, for instance, reports that technically the period 1960-62 was a failure, but only in the sense that a baby learning to walk will fall. What North Americans may call a failure, Cubans view as a learning experience,



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a temporary setback. The revolution, as Boorstein says, brought a wave of uncontrolled zeal. Its spirit was anarchistic. Stores gave food to penniless peasants, because, after all, that was what the revolution was all about, and then ran out of supplies. Inventories were unknown. Bookkeeping was a concept which few people had the training to understand, let alone initiate for an entire nation. Ships came into port with unmarked crates; since no one knew who had ordered them or what was in them, or what should be done with them, they were left and often rotted or were carelessly destroyed. Foreign exchange was used up rapidly, yet glowing predictions of a growth rate of 10 or 12 percent were taken as the norm. No one had any order of priorities or an integrated view of the whole economy. No one considered the future or realized that the resources of the country were limited, that what was given to José could not necessarily be given to Pedro. Meanwhile, the demand for products went up as the income of the peasants rose.

Then came the reaction. In 1962, with the economy in trouble, a National Planning Conference was called to explain to the people what had gone wrong, and what was to be done about it. The pendulum swung the other way. Those who had no experience in running a country were given lectures by men from other socialist countries, chapters from socialist textbooks too rigid for transnational application. Plans became gospels; bureaucracies sprang up. Rules were followed to absurdity. Authority was delegated, then forgotten, and the economy once again was on the verge of coming apart. As Fidel tells it, a tree once fell across a road, and was never removed because no commission had been delegated the specific authority to perform that particular task.

So Cuba learned. The 1963 plan was much more sober, more workable, than its predecessor. The leaders learned that the economy had to be controlled, but that control should not be rigid. The scarcity of foreign exchange, the lack of raw materials (especially minerals and oil) and pressures from the United States all made it imperative that Cuba nationalize and rationalize its economy, tighten its belt, and operate in a planned manner. Moreover, administrators learned that the thousand little details of an economy must be performed by lower level technicians, otherwise the economy can grind to a halt while one company waits for a requisitioned product.

Throughout this period the spirit of the people was critical. As Boorstein points out and Yglesias supports, a socialist revolution is also a revolution in human nature. Lenin wrote that the success of the Russian Revolution would be evidenced not by the overthrow of the tzar, but by the creation of, for example, voluntary labor groups. One of Yglesias' characters comments:

> "Cubans have never liked to work, for example, because we have always seen that to get ahead or to gain this or that you do not work, you do it through friends, never through sustained study, or work, but always by proper cultivation of friendships and politicking."

But now, he adds:

> "Cubans who do not like to work go off in droves to cut cane for nothing – fifty percent real volunteers full of enthusiasm, and fifty percent – well, they go, carried along by the others and catching some of their enthusiasm for the while."

The attempt to eliminate money and jails and have Popular Tribunals (run by judges trained in law but living in the neighborhood over which they preside), the statement by a member of the police that because of the lack of *posadas* (inns) in town any couple can park and make love with the knowledge that they will not be bothered ("Our men know better than to go look at a car parked in some out-of-the-way place at night."), Che's long statement explaining why there was a shortage of toothpaste – these are evidences of the revolution. More significant, perhaps, is one sugar worker saying: "The most important thing of all is that we now work for ourselves."

Cuba is no paradise. The Committees for the Defense of the Revolution often become organizations to spy on one's neighbors (although, their members would say, privacy is a vice of bourgeois societies), but social ostracism rather than the firing squad is the usual punishment. The state, in trying to impose Lenin's socialist discipline, is at times severe. One man, ready to leave, said, "They are trying to force my children to join the Pioneers and I do not want them to . . . I do not want the boys to be ruled by anyone but me."

The complaints of the *disgustados* (the unhappy ones) cannot be lightly dismissed: the hardship of rationing (one woman told Yglesias: let the Revolution solve the problems not just explain them); the unjust treatment of people who apply to leave; the pressure to join revolutionary organizations; the necessity to appear integrated if one is to work, study, or get any consideration at all.

Acknowledging these complaints, Cubans reply that one can't take such

distinctive

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a splintered, decadent society and change it overnight without coercion. Although most Cubans (and Fidel himself) are opposed to the UMAP (Military Units for Aid to Production-work camps, to which counterrevolutionaries and sexual deviants are sent) they do not oppose other means of coercion. A doctor, when asked if the dispensing of medical degrees should be based only on how well a student mastered the course, answered:

> "Do you think the Revolution should waste its resources – the people's resources – on training young gentlemen, and young ladies too fine to serve the people, who are going to take that diploma as entrance into your imperialist society. No. . . . Medicine is a vocation, and the Revolution has made it impossible for any to be happy in it who do not come to it as a vocation – to serve the sick."

Cuba has a long way to go. It is much easier to change the leadership of a nation than to change its system of belief. For example, although the leadership maintains that women are now equal in the society, *machismo* lives on – it will take generations for the revolutionary ethic to become part of the Cuban tradition.

Most American radicals who have visited Cuba deplore our blockade and criticize the prohibition on most travel to that beleaguered island. I disagree; the period of almost total isolation from North American culture and advice has undoubtedly benefited the Cubans. Current indications that we are about to resume relations with Cuba are disheartening. The carrot of hundreds of millions of dollars in tourist trade, while the people are still on food rations, may well beget the reconstruction of the magnificent hotels which once attracted gamblers from all over the world. If we were to send millions of dollars in culture-locked aid and machinery, in a short time even the strongest of revolutionaries might decide that it is better to make a profit than to work in the canefields. And that would be the end of the revolution.

Finding Out What Happened

by Gertrude Himmelfarb

No one, any longer, expects very much of historical labels. "Centuries" do not correspond even roughly to their calendar dates; "decades" spill over at one or both ends; a "generation" can be anything from four to forty years; a "revolution" can be so undramatic as to escape notice by contemporaries; and a "reign" need have only the vaguest reference to a ruling monarch. This is as it should be, if we are interested in more than the mere chronology of events, if we look for meaning, movement, tendency, *Zeitgeist.* Yet chronology ought to play some part in all this, if only to give point to the violation of chronology, the indeterminacy of labels. If the "20th century" started not in 1901 but in 1914, surely it is this discrepancy that is significant, precisely in focusing attention on the concept of the "20th century." And if the "Edwardian turn of mind" predated the accession of Edward, this too is significant, as much in elucidating the idea of "Victorianism" as of "Edwardianism."

The Edwardian Turn of Mind
by Samuel Hynes
(Princeton; $9.75)

Mr. Hynes is sufficiently aware of such complexities to have trouble locating his "Edwardian turn of mind." At some points in his account it seems to have taken place in the 1890's or even 1880's; at others in 1910. In any event what is important to him is the character of the turn. "Turn," however, may be an awkward metaphor for a period that he sees as essentially one of conflict, a conflict between the new and the old, between forces of liberation and repression. If there was a turn, it was, one gathers, a turn backwards, since the new suffered repeated failures and ultimately defeat. His evi-

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dence of failure comes from a variety of sources: the decline of the empire, the fear of invasion (from Germany, France, even Russia and China), a falling birth-rate and physicially deteriorating population, the inability to cope with the "Condition of England" problem, the sharpening of class, party, and even sexual antagonisms, the eruption of Ireland, the revival of censorship, and the growth of such pseudo- and anti-scientific fads as spiritualism, theosophy, anti-vivisectionism and anti-vaccinationism.

Implicit in Mr. Hynes' account is the familiar "Whig interpretation of history": history should have been proceeding towards an ever more democratic, liberal, scientific, enlightened, progressive state; and instead it perversely regressed. The Edwardian turn backward was all the more deplorable because it took place precisely at a time when enlightened men had every reason to expect a sharp turn forward. Victorian repressiveness was, or should have been, over and done with. Science, in the person of Darwin, had triumphed over religion, in the shape of the Bible. Social welfare policies and socialist theories had supplanted the iron laws of laissez-faire capitalism. Mrs. Grundy was as obsolete as Mr. Gradgrind. Sex was emerging from its dark age. And on the Continent at least, philosophy, literature, and art were engaging in new and exciting experiments. The "Edwardian Garden Party," as Mr. Hynes entitles his first chapter, should have been sunny, gay, uninhibited, an occasion for private and public rejoicing. Instead it was at best overcast, at worst stormy. And the "End of the Party" – the title of the last chapter – was fittingly marked by the outbreak of the war.

There is no systematic attempt to explain this turn backward. The closest Mr. Hynes comes to an explanation is the assertion that the forces of liberation dialectically provoked those of repression:

> "As the flood of radically new ideas entered England from the Continent, the pressure for intellectual and artistic liberation increased. But at the same time the counter-pressure of conservative and reactionary elements also became greater, and more extreme and rigid in its expressions. As social unrest and political anxiety increased, so did the conservative will to suppress evident forces of change and to preserve by force majeure the stability of England. The result is that during these years the terms of liberation and control became more clearly defined, but as the terms of a sterile and debilitating stalemate."

The explanation is not entirely satisfying. How does this dialectic explain, for example, the failure of science? Mr. Hynes himself makes it abundantly clear (and this is the most interesting part of the book) that it was not the forces of reaction and obscurantism that organized, for example, the Society for Psychical Research. On the contrary, it was those in the van-

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guard of science and culture who experimented with every variety of spiritualism. And not only in the vanguard but in the very center of the scientific and intellectual establishment. Among the presidents of the Society were Arthur Balfour, then leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons and a respected philosopher, the American philosopher William James, the distinguished physicist Oliver Lodge, and the French philosopher Henri Bergson; among its members were Alfred Wallace, co-founder of the theory of Natural Selection, and Freud.

What this suggests is that there was no reaction against science because science never meant what Mr. Hynes thinks it should have meant. Equating "Victorian science" with "materialism," Mr. Hynes naturally sees the later flirtations with psychic and spiritualistic doctrines as "reactions" against this materialism. But this is where the matter of chronology becomes decisive. For Victorian science at its height was in fact rarely materialistic. There were, to be sure, pockets of materialism, positivism, and atheism, but these antedated Darwinism and were not even indigenous to England, deriving, as they did, largely from the Enlightenment *philosophes*, from the St. Simonians and Comte, and from the German Biblical critics. Darwinism did not so much precipitate a loss of faith as confirm men in the loss they had already experienced, a loss which materialism did little to alleviate. From the beginning, Victorian science was beset by a failure of nerve. "Triumphant Darwinism" was never all that triumphant.

The dialectic of liberation and repression is not much more helpful in explaining some of the other failures of Edwardian England. It does not, for example, account for the degeneration of feminism into a war of the sexes, or worse, a war against sex. Nor does it account for the peculiar amalgam of "advanced movements," which made of socialism a bed-fellow of free love, theosophy, and various other seemingly unrelated causes. Mr. Hynes is acutely aware of the facts of the situation, the fact that feminism assumed the unfortunate character it did, and that socialism had the unsavory partners it did. But he cannot face up to the implications of these facts, the possibility that feminism or socialism as they were then conceived may have brought upon themselves their own fate, that the "terms of liberation and control," so far from becoming "more clearly defined," were in fact becoming more ambiguous and confused, that what was at work was not so much a dialectic of liberation and external repression as one of liberation and internal perversion.

The only clear example of external repression was the exercise of censorship. But even here there are problems. Were the Lord Chancellor and Purity Crusaders as effective as Mr. Hynes implies? His almost total dependence upon impressionistic, literary evidence – a quotation from this source or that, an item about this or that change in a play – makes it impossible to get any hard information about the actual extent of suppression or repression. His use of similar literary evidence earlier in the book to demonstrate how far feminism and sexual liberation had gone would seem to be at cross purposes with the later evidence of censorship.

Moreover, was it censorship, official or unofficial, that delayed the introduction into England of foreign literature and art? Was it, as Mr. Hynes says, the "conservative forces in England [who] managed to a remarkable extent to hold new ideas at bay across the Channel"? Mr. Hynes focuses upon the 1910 post-Impressionist exhibition as the battleground between the enlightened vanguard and the retrograde conservatives. But even among the vanguard, in the heart of Bloomsbury, there were those who, well disposed as they might be to the new and the foreign, could not make anything of this particular school of painting: E. M. Forster confessed that "Gauguin and Van Gogh were too much for me," and Lytton Strachey privately shared his sentiments. Virginia Woolf enthusiastically acclaimed the recent translation of Dostoyevsky: "After reading *Crime and Punishment* and *The Idiot*, how could any young novelist believe in 'characters' as the Victorians had painted them?" But were not her own characters more Victorian than Dostoyevskyan?

Mr. Hynes endorses another of Mrs. Woolf's famous dicta: "In or about December, 1910, human character changed." His problem then is to account for the fact that social institutions did not change in the same measure. But one might also quote a less well-known remark by Roger Fry, organizer of the exhibition that supposedly epitomized this change of human character, to the effect that he and his Bloomsbury friends were "the last of the Victorians." If Roger Fry was right and Virginia Woolf wrong, if new and old, progress and regression, liberation and repression were not so clearly defined, Mr. Hynes' problem becomes less urgent. Instead the historian has the more difficult problem of inquiring into the complexities of Victorianism and Edwardianism without any lines of "progress" to guide him, to tell him where he and history have gone astray. The job of finding out what *did* happen is all the more challenging if he does not presume to know what *should* have happened.

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Chemical Mysticism

by David Sanford

To psychedelic drug takers the world is divided into believers and heathen. The believers take drugs and "know" what they do. Their experience is often mystical, opening doors of perception. The heathen haven't taken drugs, and are not inclined to. They grasp at evidence suggesting that LSD, for example, damages chromosomes and sends people out skyscraper windows.

The Ecstatic Adventure
edited by Ralph Metzner
(Macmillan; $6.95)

The proselytizers of drugs have lost their objectivity (as when a meth-head who had been told his life expectancy might be cut to four years said that four years on meth is worth a lifetime without it). They believe in drugs religiously, seldom question or care whether what they experience is consciousness expansion or distortion, and uncritically believe the chemicals they ingest will do them no harm. Some experimenters will take anything that promises to turn them on – Hawaiian wood roses, morning glory seeds boiled in vinegar, probably even arsenic if it comes highly recommended. They are immune to the cautions of the straights for a number of reasons that go beyond the drug experience. But what is most crucial is that they believe that they can refute, from experience, the scare stories they hear from parents and an alienating society.

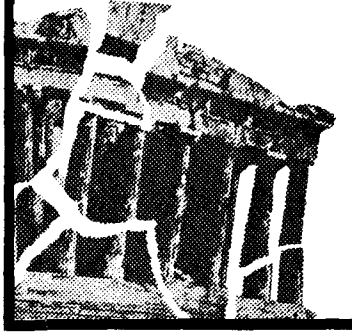
The straights, for their part, are equally beyond the reach of good sense. Physicians who have no hard evidence to support their presuppositions make public, political statements on the harmfulness of drugs, and admit only when questioned closely that there is insufficient evidence for any such conclusion. There are, as Dr. Goddard has said, no longterm studies to establish the harmfulness of marijuana, for example. The Greek pharmacologist who said marijuana users "will even kill" was talking through his hat. A respected physician who had gone on record against marijuana once felt he had to ask several colleagues for examples of bad trips so he could bolster a position for which he had no reliable documentation.

In this atmosphere of contention, it is not difficult to be turned off both by the drug culture, with its seductions, and by the community of the ignorant who believe every unproved horror story they hear (remember the six sun-blinded Pennsylvania college students?). Were the drug laws themselves not so injurious I'd cast my lot with the heathen, on the same grounds that pragmatic Christians employ to justify belief: If there is a God, believing in Him will get you into heaven; if there isn't then what the hell. Harmful or not, a drug not taken is a drug that will do one no harm.

Ralph Metzner, an erstwhile fellow tripper of Timothy Leary at Harvard, has assembled a book of essays on psychedelics which makes roughly the same claims for the turn-ons as medicine show barkers used to make in Western movies for elixirs to cure everything that ails you. I was not inclined to read beyond the subtitle: "Reports of chemical explorations of the inner world by philosophers, theologians, scientists, architects, writers, artists, businessmen, students, housewives, musicians, mothers, children, patients, convicts, addicts, secretaries." That's just about all of us and it is easy enough to predict what will follow – little Tide commercial testimonials to drug-taking by people from, as they say, all walks of life. Sure enough, drug taking brings self-knowledge, peaks and dark valleys to be explored, an aid to psychoanalysis, religion, awe, joy, glow, beauty, a substitute for prolonged practice of yoga meditation, a cure for addiction, and so on. After the pitch it's tempting to go out and buy the product; it has more uses than aspirin.

It is perhaps unfair to wish that Metzner had written another book – an evaluation of the scientific data on drug safety devoid of the presuppositions and leaps of faith found both in devotees of drugs and medical men who know little more about hallucinogens than that they are against them. But I wish he had. I'm tired of reading the *Berkeley Barb*.

In his introduction Metzner indicts the medical experts: "Given that universal tendency of the human mind to interpret the new in terms of the old, and the deliberately inculcated conservatism of the psychiatric-medical mind, brainwashed through many years of arduous academic training to perceive any change in functioning as pathological . . . it is not difficult to understand the initial anxious explorations of LSD by psychiatrists and their subsequent irrational fear at the use of LSD by nonmedical human beings. Psychiatrists in the United States are not happy: recent studies show that their suicide rates are four times as



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high as the national average for comparable age groups. Their approach to the unusual experiences induced by LSD is marked by fear and negative thinking. The dissolution of ego boundaries, prized by mystics as a step toward unitive perception, is labeled 'psychotic disintegration'."

Doctors, then, are against LSD because they are made rigid in med school and because they are so unhappy they kill themselves. While in grad school himself Metzner discovered that psychology is a "cynically professionalized pseudo-science" and that realization made him want to turn on. Metzner prefers the values of alienated youth who "look the prospect of the end of man straight in the eye and then go on. . . . To go on means to embrace everything, to accept the negatives as well as the positives, to realize these two polarities are inseparable at all levels, and to glorify in acts of beautification and service the divine spark in man." Metzner is at least partially right about doctors, but he doesn't convince me that he is right about those like himself who, disliking the "authorities," take the leap into the unknown. I for one don't understand all that stuff about polarities and divine sparks. Metzner probably would counter that the drug experience is not a rational thing and that drugs must be taken to be grooved with. To me the choice he poses is between the devil and that deep, blue alternative.

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Waking Up the White Folks Again

by Nat Hentoff

So urgently significant is this book, say both the hard and paperback publishers, that finished copies were ready less than six weeks after submission of the completed manuscript. And the author is so transmuted by his evangelical role that for the first time he is putting himself – I, John Hersey – into his journalism: ". . . this account is too urgent, too complex, too dangerous to too many people to be told in a way that might leave doubts strewn along its path; I cannot afford, this time, the luxury of invisibility." He could, presumably, at Hiroshima.

The Algiers Motel Incident
by John Hersey
(Knopf; $6.95. Bantam; $1.25)

The present account is of an incident that took place at the Algiers Motel on the third night of the Detroit riots in the summer of 1967. Responding to a telephoned report of sniping, Detroit police officers, state troopers, National Guardsmen and a Negro private guard invaded the motel and for an hour questioned ten black men and two white girls, none of whom were armed. When the interrogators left, three young men – Carl Cooper, Auburey Pollard, and Fred Temple – had been shot to death. The rest, including the two girls, had been gleefully, severely beaten. As Hersey demonstrates, there had in fact been no sniping in the area and the three black men were executed "for being thought to be pimps, for being considered punks, for making out with white girls . . . for being, all and all, black young men and part of the black rage of the time."

To prove this, Hersey involved himself in months of research, and his book shifts swiftly, though not always clearly, between interviews, extracts from court records, and his own reportage. Despite the occasional confusions in chronology, Hersey's analysis leaves no doubt as to the innocence of the victims (they weren't even pimps) although we are still not sure exactly which cop executed which black. But tying up the case neatly is not the point. Hersey sees in this episode "all the mythic themes of racial strife in the United States: the arm of the law taking the law into its own hands; interracial sex; the subtle poison of racist thinking by 'decent' men who deny that they are racists; the societal limbo into which so many young black men have been driven ever since slavery in our country; ambiguous justice in the courts. . . ."

But we already know this. Certainly blacks know it, as by now do most whites. Ah, but whites do not *experience* justice by color, and it is Hersey's innocent conviction that by writing in lacerating detail about this prototypical act of savagery on our colonials, he may help bring change. The remedy for unequal justice "is in the minds of men . . . I do believe that every scrap of understanding, every door-crack glimmer of illumination, every thread that may lead not just to survival of the races but to health – all should be shared as soon as possible. There is so much to be done in so little time . . . I bid you to read on . . . and see whether you are not pretty well purged of pity and terror as you follow this tale of humble citizens to its unresolved ending."

I pretty well felt pity and some vicarious terror and much rage as I read on, but I feel the same emotions reading the daily papers. For this kind of journalism to do more than conjugate the obvious requires a writer who both puts himself into his journalism and is also complex enough (Norman Mailer, for example) to dig so deeply into his subjects and into his own ambiguities as to return sufficiently altered by the experience to reflect in himself "the mythic themes of racial strife in the United States." Hersey does neither. From his time in Detroit, he claims that he "learned all sorts of new things, both about reality and about myself." But there is hardly anything of Hersey in this book. He remains essentially the faceless, careful, selective observer of *Hiroshima* (the difference then was that those facts were terrifyingly new). As for

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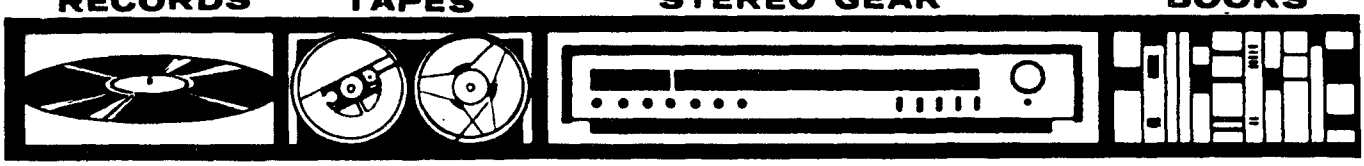

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the "reality" outside himself, surely Hersey knew before Detroit that some cops are racists and killers besides. Surely he knew the courts are quicksand for the black poor, especially in a time of riot.

Hersey's interviews with the families and friends of the executed young men faithfully reflect their anger and pain and do tell us something of "the societal limbo" in which many black young men live; but this is only competent journalism with none of "the shock of revelation" the publishers proclaim. The fierce complaints about the police, the courts, the schools are all commonplace now – even on prime-time television. But there are also interviews with the three policemen most directly involved, and those sections promise fresher information because cops are seldom asked who they are. These, however, are flat monlogues – shards of autobiography; accounts of police practices; a sense of bewildered injury that they, guardians of the law, have suddenly become vulnerable to the law. The most committed cop of the three is the most corrupted by the symbiotic relationship between his own instincts and those of the pimps and whores who had become his particular specialty in line of duty. But him too we know only superficially.

The alleged transmogrification of these "ordinary" policemen (and they are indeed the banality of evil) into sadistic killers that night at the Algiers Motel is not explored by Hersey beyond the cool extracts from his conversations with them. He tells us they turned into werewolves, but not in any way that can make us get inside their heads and skins. *He* cannot get inside, and that is why this book is only efficient, surface journalism. Hersey has written many novels, but there is no sign here of the authentic novelist's compulsive leaps of imagination; his relentless (however compassionate) curiosity; his capacity to understand, for instance, how a white cop can be devoted to his family and also be able deliberately, perhaps ecstatically, to shoot off the genitals of the executed black men.

There is a mythic quality to the incident at the Algiers Motel, as there is to incidents endemic to ghetto life every day. But to make that mythic quality part of the white experience of this country is probably beyond the power of any writer now. Some whites can come part of the way toward feeling as they think blacks do, but not very far. And to the extent that they have been moved in this direction by books, it has been by Ralph Ellison, the early James Baldwin, Malcolm X, and Eldridge Cleaver. The diligent reporting of John Hersey is only reporting, and myths are apprehended in quite another way – those who bear, interpret and eventually destroy them are at least as large as life as they make myth palpable. Ordinary journalism by barely visible reporters reduces life to incident. And that is what Hersey has done. After all the pages of *The Algiers Motel Incident*, we know only a little more specifically what the Kerner Report has already told us generally. We have names to attach to victims and executioners, but they will be forgotten, as those of "humble citizens" in incidents reported in newspapers are forgotten.

For a time, we *are* left with this unresolved case – a charge of murder against one policeman is waiting trial; and a federal grand jury has indicted him, two other police officers, and the Negro private guard for conspiring to deny civil rights to the three murdered men and to the others beaten that night. Sooner or later, we'll learn from the papers how they made out. And we are also left with the honest anxiety of John Hersey, who titles his last chapter "What Is Wrong with the Country?" Earlier in the book, he insists that of the four main causes of racial violence (unequal justice, housing, employment opportunities and education), it is unequal justice which should be attacked first "because it is at the cutting edge of irritation in the inner cities; because it is the prime cause of the deep anger of those without whom there would be no summer rebellions, the young black males; and because, to be practical about it, its remedy would cost not a cent. The remedy is in the minds of men." In sum it's time to wake up the white folks again.

But the white folks are just awake enough to be afraid. They want law and order. Congress recognizes that and has acted accordingly. It is difficult, actually impossible, to think of a single large city in which the majority of the electorate might possibly vote for a truly civilian police review board with strong powers to punish police abuse. If there is a way to make justice equal, it will come through the massed political power of blacks, with whatever white allies are able to move themselves beyond the alchemy of order to comprehension. In August 1967, a coalition of militant black leadership in Detroit held a tribunal so that the black community could evaluate for itself the evidence in the Algiers Motel incident. At this mock trial, the distant defendants were the three Detroit policemen and the Negro private guard. Writing about it, Dan Aldridge, a young black nationalist and a Wayne State graduate student, claimed that "This Tribunal is the beginning of a new level of thinking in Black America. Black people are telling white judges, white juries, and white newspapers that we are 'hip' to your tricks. That Carl Cooper, Auburey Pollard, and Fred Temple have not died in vain. Their deaths have been the signal that flashes injustice in

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America. For Carl, Auburey, and Fred, 'no more water, but fire next time'." If I must die, better it be on Linwood than somewhere in Saigon; better Dexter than Da Nang. *The Detroit News* put it on page 1D next to the comics, and when I went up to ask the *News* about it, a Mr. Beck, a Re-write, said, 'We played it like the joke it was'."

But if blacks are able to organize themselves to make the police and the courts accountable to justice, in retrospect the tribunal will hardly be seen as a joke at all. And if the blacks fail, Aldridge's answer to the man on rewrite will still hold: "If you think it was funny, we plan to keep you in stitches." The remedy, as Hersey says, is in the minds of men. But right now, the remedy is particularly in the minds of black men. Mrs. Rebecca Pollard, mother of the murdered Auburey: "You know what hurt me so bad again? Because they never was a white motel that . . . the Negro police could come in and shoot it up like they did that Negro hotel, that they walk in and out of the street and shoot an innocent guest like they did. . . . Tell me what would have happened if a Negro police had have walked into a all-white neighborhood and shot it up, like they shot up the Algiers Motel. They could not do it."

Mrs. Pollard says that her husband, Auburey Pollard, Sr., has not been quite right since the murder of their son, and that they are estranged. But Mr. Pollard does have the remedy: "It's just pitiful how the Negro, just all the Negroes in Detroit, and the ones with money and without, they do not understand that without one ball you cannot bounce. Don't look for no pity. No sympathy. Nobody going to give you that. Know what I mean?"

Knowing what he means, I expect that such books as *Soul on Ice* and Julius Lester's *Look Out Whitey! Black Power's Gon' Get Your Mama* are going to accomplish a great deal more – insofar as books can – than *The Algiers Motel Incident*. Though they're being read by whites too, those books have been written for blacks.

Reconstructing Society from Below

by Robert Middlekauff

In an article published last year in the *American Historical Review* ("The New Left and American History") Irwin Unger suggested that the history written by young American radicals betrays an "exaggerated present-mindedness," that the New Left has little use for "pure history." What it fancies instead is history "enlisted in the good fight." Though Staughton Lynd's book hardly qualifies as "pure history," whatever that may be, and though it does not display an exaggerated present-mindedness, it does make its claim to be heard both as history and as a marching order of the New Left. Lynd admits that he is more interested in 20th-century radicalism than in its beginnings in the 18th century. His purposes in going to the origins derive from his conviction that they can be used in the reconstruction of American society. His book will satisfy some of the urges of New Left intellectuals to locate modern American radicalism in a historical context. Until recently, radicals have not enjoyed much success in discovering their sources in the American Revolution. After all, the Revolution did not produce much class conflict; private property and slavery emerged from it intact. Its two great documents, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, have appealed to conservatives who sensed the nationalistic implications of the first and prized the stability and order conferred by the second. Like his radical predecessors, Mr. Lynd does not make much out of the Constitution, but gives his attention to the natural rights theory underpinning the Declaration of Independence.

Intellectual Origins of American Radicalism
by Staughton Lynd
(Pantheon; $4.95)

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He concentrates on the interpretation of natural rights and of human nature offered by the radical dissenters of the late 18th century: Price, Priestly, Paine, Wilkes, Burgh and others. These men and their 19th-century heirs were not satisfied with the environmentalism that prudent readers of Locke, from the Commonwealthmen of the 1720's to the Jeffersonians of the 1770's, found in the *Essay on Human Understanding*. They preferred the psychological assumptions of the *Second Treatise*, which implied that men were born with moral ideas and the politics of the religious republicans of the English Civil War. From these sources they developed a version of natural rights that held that the higher law was accessible to the intuitions of ordinary men – and that in government as well as in society equality must therefore prevail. The moral power that this position conveyed became extraordinarily clear during the next century in the abolitionists' critiques of slavery and the socialists' attacks on private property.

All this suggests a continuity in the radical tradition from the Revolution through the Civil War. But Mr. Lynd goes further, arguing that radicals today make essentially the same affirmations that the radicals of the Revolution did. Perhaps he is right. There is the same easy reliance today on the higher law and a similar tendency to trust intuition, even to assume that there is a universal moral truth present in the heart of every man. And certainly there is an urgent desire among radicals to create a society that brings the moral principles of the American Revolution into practice.

What Mr. Lynd desires, as far as one can tell from the last chapter in this brief book, is that ordinary men will insist upon their rights of self government, and, in fidelity to their consciences, reconstruct society from below. If their consciences are guided by the great radical principles of the Revolution, they will create a society characterized by democratic devolution. Mr. Lynd has great faith in local institutions, so long as they are popularly controlled. He calls this method of change "bicameralism from below." It is one more expression of the New Left's devotion to community.

MUSIC

Eyes of Blue, Ears of Tin

Now that reviews of Rock music have been instituted by the *New York Times*, the *New Yorker*, *High Fidelity* and *Hi Fi Stereo Review*, those of us who have been bred on Bach, Mahler and Bartok and who like the best of Rock must express our dissatisfaction. For the most part, the reviews of Rock LP's are written by under thirty "seniboppers" who accurately reflect the appeal of the music to the college and bop crowd, but who share one remarkable shortcoming: they almost never discuss the *music*, only the "poetry" or the ideas.

For example, in the *New York Times*, Sunday, May 5, 1968, Colin Turner reviews the latest Simon and Garfunkel disc, *Bookends*:

> "Until *Bookends* my image of Simon and Garfunkel was of a couple of young guys crowded into a tiny confessional, the one humming, clapping and generally keeping time, the other playing the guitar and holding up little water colors of himself against the grating."

Comparing Simon and Garfunkel's earlier records and their latest, the reviewer continues:

> "It's this *looking* that's different, the looking *out* instead of looking *at* (one's own reflection). Gone is the self-involvement of 'I am a Rock,' 'Patterns,' or 'The Dangling Conversation'."

In the entire course of the review, the music is never referred to, never discussed. The question arises: Is this record to be judged as poetry, as philosophy, or is it a matter of songs to be judged (and listened to) as music?

Considered as poetry or as ideas, most Rock songs leave much to be desired. The words have little to say that we haven't heard before. To kids in high school, or to less sophisticated segments of the college crowd, they are perhaps a rather radical, visceral expression of deep feelings. But if Rock songs are to be justified as adult as well as adolescent art, it cannot be because of their ideas. Compared with the usual vapid chatter of pop songs, Rock lyrics are often poetically sensitive and reveal inspiration. The writers have read plenty of good poetry and the effects are evident. But the poetic and emotional materials of the lyrics to "A Day in the Life" or "The Sounds of Silence," however superior for pop music, are not seriously to be thought of as in the same league with, say, Auden's "Petition":

> Send to us power and light, a sovereign touch
> Curing the intolerable neural itch,
> The exhaustion of weaning, the liar's quinsy,
> And the distortions of ingrown virginity.
> Prohibit sharply the rehearsed response
> And gradually correct the coward's stance;
> Cover in time with beams those in retreat
> That, spotted, they turn though the reverse were great.

Even if the "poems" of Rock songs were first-rate poetry, it would mostly be a waste of effort, for any musician knows that music not only does not require first-rate poetry – it cannot support it. Even the loveliest of Shakespeare or Ben Jonson poems set to music suffer a great loss, as they must when the poetic meter is violated to accommodate the music's. Handel's *Alexander's Feast* is a great oratorio, but it doesn't do anything for Dryden's words. A few composers (Purcell at his best) can set excellent verse to music with minimal destruction of the poetic structure, but that's rare. (Rossini's *Stabat Mater* is a hilarious example of total destruction of a text by musical setting.) In his famous review of *Tristan*, Bernard Shaw told us that even Wagner, for all his inflated

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notion of the importance of his librettoes, realized how insignificant the words would become when the music was passionate and exciting. In the ecstasy conveyed by the music of Act Two of *Tristan*, all the lovers can do is scream each other's name.

Because Colin Turner dislikes the "narcissism" of the earlier Simon and Garfunkel lyrics, he finds the new LP superior to its forerunners in its celebration of more public subjects. For him, this makes the new songs superior to "Patterns," and presumably to "The Sounds of Silence," "Cloudy," and some of the other excellent songs of the previous LP's. Still, musically the new record, *Bookends*, is a step backward, with the exception of the delightful "Mrs. Robinson" song – a step backward into gimmickry and Beatlemania. Mr. Turner singles out "Fakin' It" as an example of special excellence to be found on the new record. What we really find here is the absence of the unique Simon and Garfunkel timbre, while in its place we have a series of almost straight borrowings from the Beatles. The song begins with the repeated notes that end "Strawberry Fields Forever," moves on to sudden tempo changes like those of many of the Beatles' songs, then "borrows" two passages from the Beatles' "I am a Walrus," the "English Garden" sequence (in Simon and Garfunkel it appears as "And a walk in a garden") followed immediately by the music of Walrus' "semolina pilchard" line (which appears in the Simon and Garfunkel song as "Tangled in the fallen vines," metrically and musically almost identical with "semolina pilchard"). The whole song is a melange of thefts from the Beatles. "Old Friends" from the new LP is a reworking of the music of the Beatles' "She's leaving home," right down to the familiar "Eleanor Rigby" strings in the background. "Save the Life of My Child" and "America" are built up from materials taken from the Beatles' "A Day in the Life," especially its beat and its crescendoes of wild noises. In all cases, the Beatles songs are first-rate specimens of their kind, and the Simon and Garfunkel songs are manufactured products that fail to come off. Despite the inferior music, however, Mr. Turner likes the new album better than the earlier ones because he prefers social subjects to psychological ones. The music is irrelevant. Would anyone want to read:

We might as well be apart.
It hardly matters,
We sleep separately.
And drop a smile passing in the hall
Because there's no laughs left
'Cause we laughed them all
In a very short time . . . .

by itself, as a "poem," any more than one would want to sit through *Die Walkure* as a play without music? Let's take a quick look at the music of the best song in the *Bookends* album, "Mrs. Robinson."

To begin with, the song holds together as music, because it consists of a sequence of repeated refrains and maintains a regular tempo and pattern. The major attraction of Simon and Garfunkel, their timbre – a tenor and countertenor harmonization of voices against a simple Rock beat – is strongly present. Its beauty shines through in the lovely sounds that are produced at "We'd like to know a little bit about you," "Hide it in a hiding place," and the other parallel passages – soft, high-pitched, mellifluous. The excitement, mostly achieved through this gentle timbre against a firm Rock beat, is heightened by the unusual and sudden crescendoes that occur at "And here's to you Mrs. Robinson," in all of its appearances (last time around as "Where have you gone, Joe DiMaggio?"). In brief, it is the sound that makes the song. The words are pretty good, though their relation to the Mrs. Robinson of "The Graduate" is a bit tenuous. But the words are well set to the music – "Sitting on a sofa on a Sunday afternoon," with its soft "s" sounds, is a pleasant verbal complement, for example. And the grotesque anachronism of the traditional religious language as applied to the subject of the song is, whether intentional or not, witty. The successful mating of the words to the music can be contrasted with the failure in "The Sounds of Silence," where weak syllables (the "ing" of "speaking" and all the other "ing" words at the ends of lines) of the lyrics are set to strong accents in the music, resulting in "speakING" – a jarring experience.

If "Mrs. Robinson" is a good song, it is good, then, for musical reasons. Simon and Garfunkel cannot compete with the Beatles on the Beatles' ground. They should stick to what they do best. Without the inventive counterpoint, harmony, metrical shifts, variations of melodies and inspired use of speeded up and slowed down tapes of the Beatles at their best, Simon and Garfunkel's derivations are bound to seem flat. The critics will not help these musicians by failing to examine the music.

HAROLD FROMM

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Michael Harrington's *latest book is* Toward a Democratic Left. David Morris *is a student at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C.* Gertrude Himmelfarb *is professor of history at Brooklyn College.* Nat Hentoff's *novel,* Onwards! *was published this spring.* Robert Middlekauff *teaches history at the University of California at Berkeley.* Harold Fromm *will be teaching this fall in the English Department of Brooklyn College.*

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A COMMUNICATION

The Kennedy Cause

Those who did not follow Robert Kennedy, said a student leader to a meeting of the Coalition for a Democratic Alternative at Chicago on June 29, would never know what it meant to believe in him. Along with so many others I followed Robert Kennedy in 1968, heart and mind. I campaigned for him in California, and it meant a great deal to me, more than any prior political commitment, or than any conceivable new one. I believed he had come to know better and more deeply than anyone how dangerously we are nearing a dead end, and I believed that he above all other public men would, in the words his brother uttered in St. Patrick's, stop war and heal suffering. He was attuned to a recently unfashionable strain in the American liberal tradition, which for me is identified with Louis D. Brandeis. He stressed the moral life – compassion, responsibility, self-reliance – and the obligation of the larger society to foster for the basic unit, the locality or the ethnic or racial group, the conditions of the moral life. He had the trust of those whose trust we desperately need, and he is, I fear, irreplaceable.

But to insist that he was our last and only hope is no act of piety; it is an act of despair and nihilism. I don't presume to know or guess what he would have wanted his followers to do, but we see war and ought to care to stop it, we see suffering and ought to be concerned to heal it. It is not consistent with such aspirations to support Hubert Humphrey. The Vice President is wedded to an Asian policy that will not stop war but breed it. And a policy that breeds Asian war will not heal the domestic wounds of the United States. Perhaps the Vice President can be brought around to new and different policies. If so, it will be because irresistible political pressure was exerted, and the only instrument – since it is axiomatic in our system that you cannot beat somebody with nobody – for bringing such pressure to bear within the Democratic Party now is the McCarthy candidacy.

I thought before the California primary that it had become a spoiling candidacy. I own also to misgivings about Senator McCarthy's attitude toward Robert Kennedy, and about McCarthy's qualities of leadership. One had not dissimilar doubts about Adlai Stevenson also. But it seems to me out of bounds to consider McCarthy unqualified for the Presidency, and he is now the only alternative within the Democratic Party to the utter defeat of the Kennedy cause. One might wish that he had himself been as intent on the cause before June 4 as was Robert Kennedy, and prepared to submerge himself in it, although it must be said that as between the two men, it was McCarthy's personal ambition that would have had to yield to the cause, not very likely Kennedy's, and so more was asked of McCarthy. In any event, that is past.

Robert Kennedy did not enter presidential politics for the greater glory of the Democratic Party, or to ensure that it was unified no matter whom it nominated and what platform it adopted. He ran for President because of widespread disaffection with the men and policies of the Democratic Party, and because of a gathering crisis of allegiance to the very system by which we govern ourselves. If, therefore, the Democratic Party stands pat despite the effort now led by Senator McCarthy to cause it to do better, we must look elsewhere, or look to other means of political action, not excluding a fourth ticket. This is not 1912, however close to Armageddon Theodore Roosevelt thought he then stood; it is not 1924 with LaFollette, not 1948 with the earlier Wallace – a flawed leader of a badly flawed movement – it is not any of those times because the issues cut deeper now, because popular response is intense and keeps exceeding the most sanguine expectations, and because it is dangerous to deny any political outlet to currents of opinion that are so pervasive and so profound.

Robert Kennedy commanded massive support. Do not his principal associates have a responsibility to that great following? Should they not seek ways toward the fulfillment of Kennedy's purpose, within the Democratic Party, without it if necessary, in 1968 if possible, but looking also to four years hence?

Alexander M. Bickel
Yale Law School

Correspondence

A Fourth Party

Sirs:

I heartily agree with your call for a fourth party presidential candidate in November. From a "process" point of view, I suggest the following points in favor of such a candidacy:

A third-party candidacy would be based on a coalition of the groups in American society most dissatisfied with the policies of the present administration: a) professional and managerial classes; b) students and youth; and c) Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and the underprivileged. This coalition of the uppermost and lowermost classes in American society would leave the bulk of lower middle class votes to be divided by Humphrey, Nixon, and hopefully Wallace. Since this class is the strongest in support of the Vietnamese war and in opposition to strong federal action attacking the problems of race and poverty, a third-party candidate would be free to propose more radical solutions to the crises of Vietnam and Negro ghettos than any other candi-

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date without fear of widespread loss of potential votes.

The primaries have shown that a "peace and justice" candidate can command at least a third of the total vote in the North and West. This vote, against a "hawk" and *status quo* vote divided by Humphrey, Nixon, and Wallace, would be enough to make a third-party candidate a strong contender for the electoral votes of key states in November.

US fortunes in Vietnam are likely to continue at their present level or decline in the interim months before the election, and peace sentiment in this country can be expected to rise correspondingly. If these expectations are accurate, dissent from the war aims of the Administration can be expected to mount, and a third-party candidate would be the beneficiary. Moreover, there may be even greater visibility of racial and monetary problems in coming months.

Although third-party candidates are conspicuous failures in the history of American presidential elections, they frequently have the effect of forcing the major parties simultaneously or subsequently to move in the direction of their program (e.g. Free Soilers, Populists, Progressives).

McCarthy may have a moral claim to head such a ticket, but he has indicated no interest to date in such a role. A Rockefeller candidacy has several advantages over that of McCarthy. Rockefeller has executive experience, greater appeal to the underprivileged, more financial resources. He also has less to lose; he is a third-term governor of New York, probably approaching the end of his political career at the state level, and has the leverage of two more years in Albany to neutralize support of Nixon by Republican party professionals in New York state.

I propose the following steps:

A legal staff should be formed immediately to study the requirements of state election laws for securing a place on the presidential ballot.

Lists of favorable electors should be drawn for each state.

Machinery for circulating petitions to gain a place on the ballot should be set up.

Contingent plans for legal action to force a place on the ballot where state laws are adverse should be made. As you have noted, a good legal case can be supported for a constitutional right of a fourth-party candidate to a place on the ballot when such a place is sought in ample time to avoid any serious administrative inconvenience to state officials.

(Rev.) Richard J. Regan, S.J.
Dept. of Political Sciences
Fordham University

Taken for a Ride

Sirs:

The muckracking which your magazine usually does is of a constructive and well-researched nature – not so with Mr. Friedman's "Taken for a Ride" article. In this article the author advocated compulsory automobile liability insurance as it is now employed in Massachusetts, New York, and North Carolina. The motorists of Massachusetts have been fighting for years to get the compulsory insurance law repealed. "Why?," you ask after reading Mr. Friedman's article extolling its virtues. There are a number of reasons; a few of them being: it encourages fraud and deception, it drags court proceedings into many cases where they aren't needed, it makes it very profitable for people to get involved in accidents, and for the above reasons the cost of auto insurance in this state is literally without ceiling. Does Mr. Friedman think it coincidental that the three states with compulsory insurance laws have the three highest insurance rates in the nation? We almost won the battle last year, but the insurance companies (using our money) and the lawyers (afraid of losing those profitable accident cases) lobbied the Massachusetts State Senate into killing a House passed Keeton-O'Connell basic protection plan. If things are bad in the states without compulsory liability insurance laws, then they are certainly worse in the states with such laws. I think the readers of your publication were "Taken for a Ride" by Mr. Friedman.

Richard Cowan
Gloucester, Mass.

In reply . . .

Mr. Cowan seems to have completely misunderstood the purpose of my article in his dislike for compulsory automobile liability insurance. The point of the article, which I thought was clear, is that there are millions of Americans who have voluntarily bought automobile insurance and have been misled by auto dealers. They believe that they are fully protected, whereas in truth the only coverage they are buying is collision and comprehensive insurance which only protects their car. My specific solution for this problem is not compulsory insurance, but the requirement that dealers selling insurance to car buyers sell "liability" as well as "collision" insurance. The only reason I mentioned the three states that have compulsory insurance laws was to point out that in those states where dealers cannot sell collision insurance only, the sale of cars has not declined.

Not to beg on the writer's accusation, however, I am in favor of some form of compulsory auto insurance! Compulsory liability insurance does not, as Mr. Cowan suggests, result in higher insurance premiums. While it is true that Massachusetts and New York have some of the highest rates in the country, it should be noted that they always did even before passage of compulsory insurance. The third state, North Carolina, which requires liability insurance is nowhere near the top of the list and has insurance rates comparable to South Carolina where insurance is voluntary. In fact, there is no evidence to show that compulsory insurance causes a faster rise in rates. Nor is it true, despite all claims of the insurance industry to the contrary, that compulsory insurance increases fraud and deception. That it increases the number of claims and court cases is true, but that's the purpose of the law: to increase the collectibility of claims so that victims of auto accidents won't go uncompensated.

It is odd that Mr. Cowan complains about the defeat of the Keeton

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O'Connell Basic Protection Plan since that plan itself would be a compulsory plan which some insurance company "experts" claim would raise the cost of insurance. Unfortunately, to adequately answer all the points raised or compare all the pros and cons of the various solutions would take a book. Fortunately, I have written such a book; it's entitled *Are You Being Taken for a Ride?*, which will probably be published next year.

In case Mr. Cowan doesn't know it, it is the American public that is being taken for a ride.

Gilbert B. Friedman
San Francisco, Calif.

Military Justice

Sirs:

Some weeks have passed since Edward Sherman and D. J. Peffer's debate on "Military Injustice" (*Correspondence*, March 30), but readers will still find the following item extremely interesting.

On the second floor bulletin board of Fort Ord's Judge Advocate Building is a memo from the senior military lawyer on post to his subordinates. The following excerpt is relevant:

> 1. I urge most strongly that in counseling clients concerning pending nonjudicial punishment you advise them to accept Article 15 and not demand trial by courts-martial *even if they have a complete defense to the offense charged. . . . A court-martial, of course, is a permanent judicial conviction on a man's record* . . . whereas Article 15 is administrative punishment and is only temporarily a matter of military record . . . (italics added).
>
> (Signed)
> Thomas R. Maher
> CPT,JAGC
> Chief, Military Justice Division

Evidently, a guilty verdict is the automatic result of *any* court-martial; and a soldier should consider himself *lucky* if his commanding officer can be persuaded to forego the proceedings and punish him "administratively."

A Draftee
Fort Ord, California

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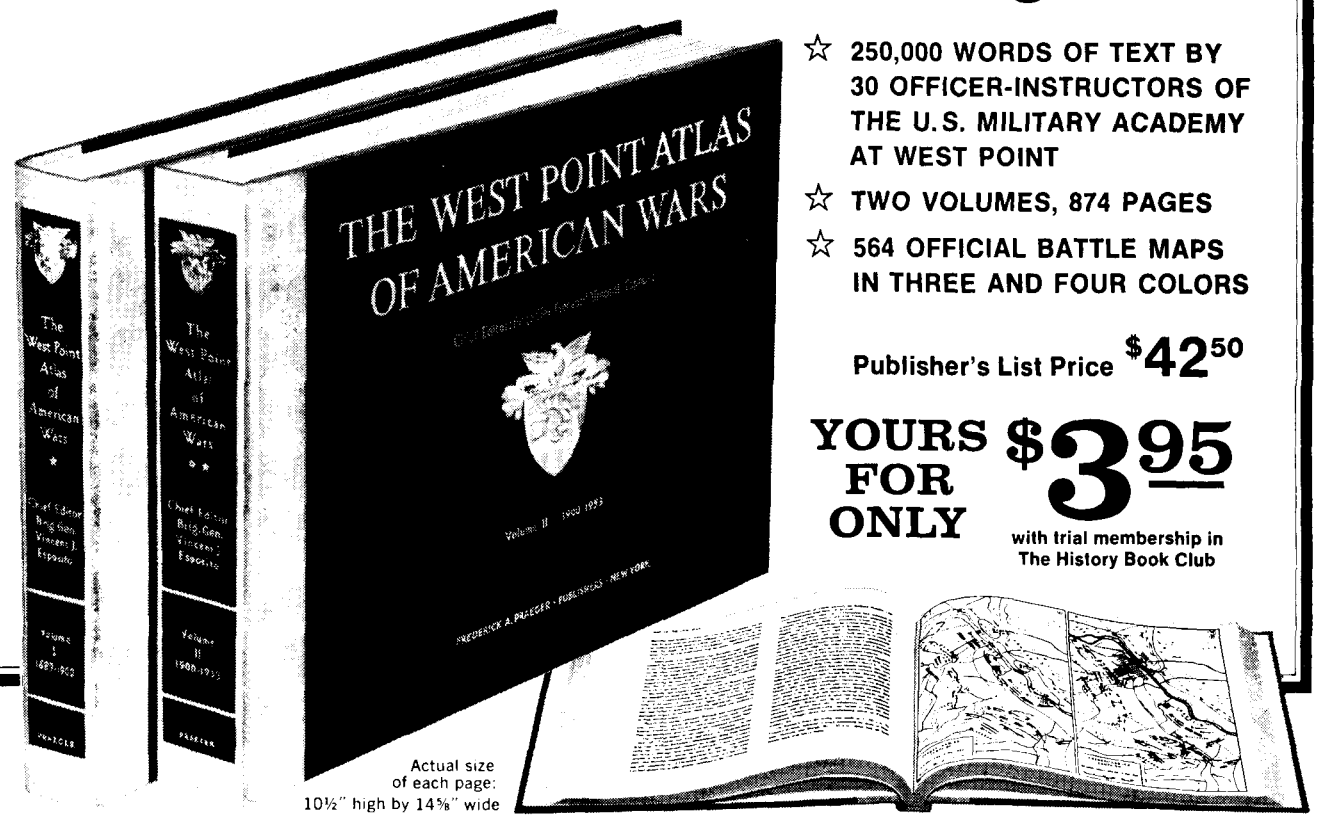
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